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NOTICES OF THE JEWS

AND

THEIR COUNTRY.

NOTICES OF THE JEWS

AND

THEIR COUNTRY

BY

The Classic Writers of Antiquity:

BEING

A COLLECTION OF STATEMENTS AND OPINIONS FROM THE WORKS OF GREEK AND LATIN HEATHEN AUTHORS PREVIOUS TO A.D. 500.

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BY

JOHN GILL,

Translator of Olshausen's Commentary on St. John, an Abridged Edition of D'Aubigné's History of the Reformation, Bovet's Life of Count Zinzendorf, etc.

SECOND EDITION. REVISED AND ENLARGED.

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I Dedicate this little Work

TO

MY LONG-TRIED FRIEND,

CHRISTIAN DAVID GINSBURG, LL.D. (GLASG.)

IN TOKEN OF THE TRUEST ESTEEM.

PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION.

THE object of the following Essay being literary, and not theological, only such comments have been made upon the texts introduced as seemed required on the ground of historical fairness.

It was found impossible to make a perfectly distinctive classification of extracts, but it is hoped that the one which has been adopted, and which proceeds according to the subject-matter rather than the order of time, will prove sufficient for its purpose.

The quotations from the Greek and Latin writers are presented in a translated form, for the convenience of general English readers.

The author acknowledges his obligation to Meier's *Judaica*. He had not met with it until his own work was far advanced, but it rendered good service in directing his attention to two or three passages which had escaped his previous research.

17, CEDARS ROAD, CLAPHAM COMMON,
December, 1870.

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I.

THE EXODUS FROM EGYPT.

"WHEN the King of Egypt gave the province of Goshen, on the east of the Lower Nile, to the family of Jacob, he scarcely thought that it would eventually be inhabited by two millions of the patriarch's descendants. Hence, no doubt, the district he assigned to them was not very large, though the gift would have been liberal enough had it been intended for only a hundredth part of that number. But as the size of their abode did not increase in proportion to their numbers, the advent of each new generation forced them more closely together, until they became so crowded that cleanliness was impossible, and contagious disorders—the infallible consequences of such a condition—naturally spread among them. In this manner the first seeds were sown of that evil which is still peculiar to them; but at that time the results must have been rapid to a fearful degree. That most horrible plague, the leprosy, attacked them, and passed from parents to

children, slowly poisoning the sources of life and the powers of reproduction.

"Thus an accidental evil originated a hereditary one which centuries failed to eradicate. How common this evil was, may be inferred from the numerous precautions which the Lawgiver instituted against it; and the unanimous testimony of Manetho, Diodorus Siculus, Tacitus, Lysimachus, Strabo, and of many others, who knew scarcely anything of the Hebrews besides this national leprosy, proves how general and profound was the impression it made upon the Egyptians.

"The leprosy, then, was a natural consequence of the crowded state in which they lived; while the wretched food that was doled out to them, and their bad treatment generally, induced fresh causes of the malady. They who had formerly been hated as shepherds, and avoided as strangers, were now shunned and detested as an infected people. Thus a deep feeling of repugnance was added to that fear and dislike which the Egyptians had always cherished against them. Their enemies considered no inhumanity too cruel to be practised upon a people who were so distinctly branded by the wrath of the gods, and they did not hesitate to rob them of the most sacred rights of man." [1]

[1] Schillet's *Die Sendung Mosis* (The Mission of Moses).

Such is the cool style in which a great German poet bemires the early history of a race whose literature was a source of instruction to the whole civilized world, when some of the European races who have derived their highest wisdom from the learning of the Hebrews were savages roaming over the wilds of Scandinavia, or waylaying unlucky voyagers on the northern seas.

Had this strange story been a creation of Schiller's fancy, it would have done no credit to his genius; but it is as a historian and a philosopher that he gives it wing, and hence his heedlessness is unpardonable. He is the more to be condemned also because, while he professes to set forth his authorities, he neglects to say that the only place where it is likely that he could have been at the trouble of tracing them is in a work of Josephus, who quotes the oft-told calumny only to refute it.

But what are these wonderful testimonies on which Schiller relies with such unquestioning credulity?

Let us turn in the first place to MANETHO,[1] and

[1] Manetho, an Egyptian priest and a native of Sebennytus, lived in the reign of Ptolemy I. He was the first Egyptian to write a history of his country in Greek. Illustrations of his historical existence are found on Egyptian monuments. The object of his work on the History of Egypt, of which fragments only are preserved, was both theological and historical. Vid. Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, ix., xxviii., xlix., lxii., lxxiii. Manetho's other

examine two of his fragments preserved by Josephus, in his masterly treatise against Apion.[1]

Josephus says (*Against Apion*, Book I., ch. 14, 15,) "Now this Manetho, in the second book of his

writings were a treatise, entitled Κῦφοι, on the Sacred Incense of the Egyptians, mentioned by Suidas and Plutarch; and Τῶν φυσικῶν ἐπιτομή, explaining the Egyptian doctrines concerning the gods, the laws of morality, the world, &c. Among other works which have been erroneously ascribed to him, is *Sothis*, or the *Dog-star*, which is a forgery, as is also the Latin letter of dedication, addressed Ptolemæo Philadelpho regi magno Augusto, mentioned by Syncellus, ed. Bonn, 1829, p. 73. Mr. Gliddon, the American lecturer on Egypt, makes a slip in bringing forward this letter as a genuine Manethonian document. Vid. G. R. Gliddon's *Ancient Egypt*, p. 37. New York, 1843.

[1] Apion, an Egyptian Professor of Rhetoric at Rome, in the reign of Tiberius, had attacked the Jews in his work on *Egyptian Antiquities*. He also headed the deputation from the inhabitants of Alexandria to Caligula, against the Jews, and provoked the Emperor against them by reminding him that they had refused to erect statues to him, or to swear by his sacred name. The first book of Josephus's reply is more strictly a refutation of earlier Egyptian writers. Seneca, *Epis.* 88, and Gellius, *Noct. Att.*, 5, 14, speak of Apion as a man of learning, but given to contention about trifles, full of prejudice, and puffed up with vanity; and his saying that every one mentioned in his works would be immortalized is a pretty clear proof that their estimate of his character was not at all uncharitable. Suidas says he was called Μόχθος, probably in allusion to his zeal as a student. Apion wrote—

1. *On Homer*, referred to by Eustathius, &c.
2. *On Egypt*, mentioned by Eusebius, Gellius, and Pliny.
3. *Against the Jews* (Euseb.)
4. *In praise of Alexander the Great* (Gellius).
5. *Histories of other Countries*, &c.

A digest of the controversy between him and Josephus will be found in the Appendix to this Essay.

Egyptian History, writes concerning us in the following manner. I will set down his very words, as if I were to bring the very man himself into court for a witness: 'We had a king whose name was Timaus. In his time, I know not how, God became displeased with us, and there came up from the East, in a strange manner, men of an ignoble race, who were bold enough to invade our country, and easily subdued it without a battle. And having got its rulers into their power, they cruelly burnt the cities, and demolished the temples of the gods, and they showed the utmost hostility to all the inhabitants, slaying some, and reducing the wives and children of others to a state of slavery. At length they made one of themselves king, whose name was Salatis; he lived in Memphis, and rendered both the upper and the lower district (of Egypt) tributary, and stationed garrisons in places which were best adapted for that purpose. But he specially fortified the eastern parts, foreseeing that the Assyrians, who were then increasing in power, would have a strong desire to invade that kingdom. Observing in the Saïte Nome, upon the east of the Bubastile Channel, a city, which from some ancient theological reference was called Avaris, and finding it admirably adapted to his purpose, he built it, and strongly fortified it with walls, and garrisoned it with a force of two hundred

and forty thousand heavy-armed men. To this city Salatis repaired in summer time, distributing corn and paying his mercenaries, and also carefully training his soldiers, that they might be a terror to foreigners.

"'He died after a reign of nineteen years. After him another king,' called Beon, reigned forty-four years; and he was succeeded by Apachnas, who reigned thirty-six years and seven months; then Apophis, sixty-one years; and Janias, fifty years and one month; and after all these Assis reigned forty-nine years and two months. These six were the first rulers amongst them; always making war and longing to exterminate the whole race of Egypt. This people was called collectively the Hycsos, that is, the Shepherd Kings; for *Hyc*, in the sacred dialect, stands for *King*, and *Sos* signifies a *Shepherd*, in the vulgar tongue; and thus the compound Hycsos is formed. Some say they were Arabians. . . . "'This people, who were thus denominated Shepherd Kings, and their descendants, retained possession of Egypt during the period of five hundred and eleven years.'

"Manetho then relates that the king of Thebais, and of the other provinces of Egypt, made an insurrection against the shepherds, and that a long and serious war was carried on between them, till the shepherds were overcome by a king called

Alisphragmuthosis, who drove them out of the other parts of Egypt, and hemmed them up in a place containing about 10,000 acres, which was called Avaris. All this tract, Manetho says, the shepherds surrounded with a vast and strong wall, that they might keep all their property and their booty in a safe place.

"And he says that Thummosis, the son of Alisphragmuthosis, endeavoured to reduce them by siege, and beleaguered the place with a body of 480,000 men; but when he despaired of the siege, he made a treaty that they should leave Egypt, and go unmolested wherever they pleased. According to agreement, they quitted Egypt in a body, with all their families and effects, in number not less than 240,000, and journeyed through the desert to Syria. But as they feared the power of the Assyrians, who then prevailed in Asia, they built a city, in the country now called Judaea, of sufficient size to contain so many thousands of men, and named it Jerusalem.

"In another book of the Egyptian histories, Manetho says, that this people, who are called shepherds, were also styled captives in their Sacred Books, and he is correct in saying so. For it was a national custom with our ancestors, in very old times, to feed flocks, and, from their leading a wandering life, they were called shepherds. And, again,

they were called captives by the Egyptians, not without reason, since our father Joseph described himself to the king of the Egyptians as a captive, and he afterwards sent for his brethren to Egypt by the king's permission. But concerning them I shall institute a fuller inquiry in another place."

Josephus then proceeds with further details from the same author:—

"After the departure of this nation of shepherds from Egypt to Jerusalem, Tethmosis, the king who drove them out of Egypt, reigned twenty-five years and four months, and then died, and his son Chebron held the government for thirteen years. After him Amenophis reigned for twenty years and seven months; then his sister Amesses, twenty-one years and nine months; she was succeeded by Mephres, who reigned twelve years and nine months; after him Mephramuthosis, twenty-five years and ten months; then Themosis reigned nine years and eight months," and so on to Sethosis.

Referring to Amenophis, Josephus again quotes from Manetho *Against Apion*, Book I., 26:—

"He says that this king was desirous of beholding the gods, as Orus, one of the previous kings, had desired to do, and he communicated his wish to a priest of the same name with himself, Amenophis (a son of Paapios), who seemed to partake of the divine nature, both in his wisdom and knowledge

of futurity; and this namesake answered that he would be able to behold the gods, if he cleared the whole country of lepers and other impure men.

"The king being pleased, gathered together out of Egypt all that laboured under any bodily defect, to the number of 80,000, and sent them to the quarries on the east side of the Nile, that they might work, and be separated from the rest of the Egyptians. And he says that there were among them some learned priests, who were affected with leprosy. But Amenophis, the wise man and prophet, feared the anger of the gods against both himself and the king, if it should appear that violence had been offered them, and he predicted that certain people would fight on behalf of these unclean persons, and would conquer Egypt for thirteen years. However, he dared not communicate these things to the king, but leaving a writing concerning all, destroyed himself. The king was disheartened."

"He then writes," Josephus continues, "word for word, thus: 'When those who were sent to work in the quarries had continued for some time in that miserable state, the king being petitioned to set apart for their habitation and protection the city of Avaris, which had been deserted by the shepherds, granted the request. Now, according to the ancient theology, this city was Typho's.

"'But coming into this city, and having this place

for a revolt, they appointed as their ruler one of the priests of Heliopolis, whose name was Osarsiph, and they swore obedience to him in all things. Osarsiph then, in the first place, enacted this law: that they should neither worship the gods, nor abstain from any of those sacred animals which the Egyptians hold in the greatest veneration, but sacrifice and slay them all; and that they should connect themselves with no one but those who were of that confederacy. When he had made such laws as these, and many others directly opposed to the Egyptian customs, he gave orders that a large number of hands should be employed in repairing the walls of the city, and that they should hold themselves in readiness for war with Amenophis, the king. He then took into his counsels some others of the priests and polluted persons, and sent ambassadors to the city called Jerusalem, to the shepherds who had been expelled by Tethmosis; and having informed them of the state of affairs with regard to himself and others who had been subjected to ignominious treatment, he begged them to join him with one mind in an attack upon Egypt. He also promised, in the first place, to reinstate them in Avaris, the ancient city of their fathers, and to provide plentiful supplies for their host, and fight for them when necessary; and assured them that he would easily reduce the

country under their dominion. They were all overjoyed, and, readily mustering to the number of 200,000 men, soon came up to Avaris.

"'Now Amenophis, the king of the Egyptians, when he was informed of their invasion, was in great consternation, remembering the prophecy of Amenophis, the son of Papis. And, in the first place, having assembled the multitude of the Egyptians, and having consulted with their leaders, he commanded the sacred animals to be brought to him, especially those which were held in more particular veneration in the temples; and he charged the priests, one by one, to conceal the images of their gods with the utmost care. He then placed his son Sethos, who was also called Ramesses, from his father Rampses, and was five years old, under the protection of a friend of his, and he himself marched with the rest of the Egyptians, being 300,000 most warlike men, though he did not attack the enemy, who advanced to meet him, but thinking that would be to fight against the gods, he hastened back to Memphis, where he took Apis and other sacred animals he had sent for, and withdrew immediately into Ethiopia, with the whole army and multitude of the Egyptians; for the king of Ethiopia was under an obligation to him, wherefore he received him kindly, and took care of all the multitude that was with him, the country supplying what was necessary

for their food; and he allotted to him cities and villages for his exile, which was to last, from its beginning, during the predestined thirteen years; besides which, he placed an Ethiopian camp on the borders of Egypt as a protection to King Amenophis.

"'Such was the state of things in Ethiopia. But the Solymites, who had come down with the unclean of the Egyptians, treated the inhabitants in such a barbarous manner, that to those who then witnessed the wicked acts of these men, it was evident that their domination must be a very bad thing indeed. For they not only set fire to the cities and villages, and were not satisfied without committing sacrilege and destroying the images of the gods, but constantly used them for roasting the sacred animals that were worshipped; and after compelling the priests and prophets to be slayers and butchers of these animals, they cast them out of the country naked. It is also said that the priest who ordained their polity and laws was born at Heliopolis, and his name was Osarsiph, from Osiris, the god of Heliopolis; but when he went over to these people his name was changed, and he was called Moÿses.'

"This then is what the Egyptians say about the Jews, with many other things which I pass over for the sake of brevity. But Manetho further says that 'after this, Amenophis returned from Ethiopia

with a great force, and also his son Rampses, with other forces; and these two, encountering the shepherds and the unclean people, defeated them, and slew multitudes of them, and pursued them to the boundaries of Syria.'"

Hengstenberg, in the Appendix to his work on Egypt, accounts for the scandals against the Jews by the wrath of the Egyptians at finding the Jews better treated than themselves by the Greeks in Alexandria. He asks how we can trust one who claims to have lived under Ptolemy Philadelphus, and to be an Egyptian high priest, and who yet assures us that the original sources of his information were derived from columns which have proved to be fabulous, and his secondary ones from a Greek translation made even before the flood, and laid up in the archives of the Temple.

Whilst no excuse can be urged for Schiller, in setting off his "Mission of Moses" with Egyptian fables standing in direct opposition to the Scripture narrative, from which he himself took all his after-facts to make up the life of Moses, Hengstenberg is too hard upon "the learned priest of Sebennytus," as Manetho is justly styled by Bunsen;[1] and he overlooks the fact that the dedicatory letter, which

[1] Vid. *Manetho the Sebennyte, and his Successors*, in *Egypt's Place in Universal History*, 1867, pp. 68, ff.

places Manetho in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus, is a manufacture of Christian times.

Admitting the above fragment to be Manetho's, though probability is strongly on the side of Böckh, who denies its authenticity, because its chronology contradicts the text of Manetho given by Africanus,[1] it was an easy thing for the court historian of Ptolemy to fall into the error of supposing that the leprosy, which was common in Egypt, originated with the captive Israelites; and it was not unnatural that, without going to the trouble of any very careful research, he should adopt the popular tradition which transferred the disgrace from the shoulders of his own countrymen.

[1] Vid. August Böckh's remarks on the Fifteenth and Seventeenth Dynasties: *Manetho und die Hundssternperiode*, Berlin, 1845, pp. 220, ff. Böckh speaks of Manetho as "no contemptible historian;" and the best Egyptologists, such as Wilkinson and Birch, support this view; for his mistake as to the Jewish Exodus very little affects his general trustworthiness when he writes of strictly Egyptian matters, in reference to which he had the strongest reasons for care and accuracy; and there remains, after all, the question whether he has not been corrupted and falsified by later hands. Mr. Gliddon, indeed (*loc. cit.*), not only says that Manetho is confirmed to his Sixteenth Dynasty by the sculptures, and that every fresh discovery in hieroglyphics adds new confirmatory light, but he maintains that Manetho had as his sources the sacred inscriptions on the columns of Hermes, and the books of Thoth-trismegisthus, the celebrated library of Alexandria, the papyri of the sacerdotal order, the sculptures on temples, and the genealogical tablets, some of which have come down to us. But Mr. Gliddon also says that "authorities contemporary with the decline of the Pharaonic glory, enumerated after the Persian

Even if he had access to the Pentateuch, it was not likely that he would believe the miraculous history of the Exodus, much less endorse it. Indeed, it is very questionable whether he would have given it a thought; while, on the other hand, the tale of the leprosy served to explain the departure of the captives in a plausible and convenient way. Manetho could not anticipate the currency to which the Mosaic books would attain, or that they would ever possess sufficient authority to be accepted as a contradiction of his statements. As the disease in question was known to have raged in Egypt, his readers would readily connect it, as he probably did in his own mind, specially with the Jewish people;

Conquest, B.C. 525, above 20,000 volumes in constant, universal, and popular use among the inhabitants of Egypt, the productions of a Suphis, Athothis, Necho, and Petosiris—all Egyptian Pharaohs —no less than of priests and other philosophers, who lived, nearly all of them, ages before Moses." And he considers that Moses must have been thoroughly acquainted with the Egyptian hieroglyphics. The same author makes the following remark: "Syncellus, a poor authority, says that Joseph was Prime Minister to Apophis, a Shepherd King; but it is clear from Rossellini's explanation of Gen. xlvi. 32, 34, and xlvii. 3—6, that the king then on the throne of Memphis was a Shepherd King who had arrogated to himself the Egyptian royal title of Ph-Ra, *the Sun*, the original word for our Pharaoh. Exod. i. 8 marks the expulsion of the Hykso invaders, and the return of the Egyptian monarchy to Memphis and Thebes, under the Eighteenth Dynasty, about 1600 to 1800 B.C." He also observes, "It is probable that the kings (Gen. xiv.) from whom Abraham rescued Lot were Hyksos."

and while the Egyptians, who were extremely jealous of the Jews, would enjoy this hit at their rivals, Ptolemy himself would no doubt think it an excellent joke.

Josephus, after quoting Manetho's narrative of the Shepherd Kings, and his list of sovereigns down to Sethosis, says (*Ag. Apion*, I. 16): "Manetho, therefore, bears testimony to two points of the greatest consequence to our purpose, and those from the Egyptian records themselves. In the first place, that we came out of another country into Egypt, and that our deliverance out of it was so ancient in time as to have preceded the siege of Troy almost a thousand years. But then, as to those things which Manetho adds, not from the Egyptian records, but, as he himself confesses, from some stories of an uncertain original,[1] I will disprove them hereafter particularly, and shall demonstrate that they are no better than incredible fables." And probably Josephus hit the right nail in calling attention to the difference between the really historical parts of Manetho's work and the tales derived from popular tradition which are mingled with them.

Writers of such high antiquity must not be judged as if they had been able to command the materials

[1] *ὑπὲρ ὧν δ' ὁ Μανεθὼν οὐκ ἐκ τῶν παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις γραμματῶν, ἀλλ' ὡς αὐτὸς ὡμολόγηκεν, ἐκ τῶν ἀδεσπότως μυθυλογουμένων προστεθεικεν.*

which centuries of critical labour have now stored up, and which render it almost a crime for a modern historiographer to be imposed upon by traditional falsehood. At a period when written history was nearly unknown, and those who attempted to recover anything from the all-devouring past had little to help them beyond hearsay and their own imagination, it was natural that, even in works professing an historical character, the element of myth should largely predominate; and we have the more reason to be grateful for that severely simple Record of the old ages which stands out from all others as accomplished under the guidance of the Omniscient.

Schiller rather naively says that the authors to whom he refers "knew scarcely anything about the Israelites besides their leprosy." If it be true that the early Egyptian writers knew nothing but this about a people of such a marvellous history as Moses himself has transmitted to us, they are little entitled to the honour of being appealed to as authorities; and Schiller would have done better if he had begun with the Book of Exodus, which he finds of such great service in the subsequent parts of his essay. The aim of that book is to show that the Israelites were "brought out" of Egypt by the special intervention of Divine power. This fact, which has been celebrated ever since, year by year, in the Feast of the Passover, forms the foundation

of all their history from that time forward; and it is of the utmost importance, as indicating their Divine appointment to a most peculiar direct connexion with God, and a grand religious work resulting therefrom. Schiller, however, wishing to eliminate the whole of the supernatural from this great episode in human existence, not only falls back upon a fiction, but is guilty of a gratuitous insult, and he would take from the people whom God chose to distinguish with His favour the entire significance of their whole career.

"After Manetho," Josephus says, "I wish to examine CHAEREMON,[1] who professes to have composed a history of Egypt. He gives the same name as Manetho to the king Amenophis and his son Ramesses, and says as follows: 'Isis appeared to Amenophis in his dreams, rebuking him that her temple should have been overthrown in war. Upon which Phritiphantes, the sacred scribe, told him that if he would clear Egypt of all polluted persons he would be delivered from these terrors. He therefore collected 250,000 unclean persons, and drove them out. Their leaders were two scribes called

[1] Chaeremon, who was keeper of the library of the Serapeum, compiled a Hieroglyphical Dictionary, fragments of which, thanks to the industry of the Byzantine monk Tzetzes, have reached the present time.—*Introduction to the Study of the Egyptian Hieroglyphics, by Samuel Birch*, 1857. Chaeremon was contemporary with Apion.

Moÿses and Joseph; the Egyptian names were, that of Moÿses, Tisithen; and that of Joseph, Peteseph.' They bent their way towards Pelusium, where they met with 380,000 men left there by Amenophis, whom he would not suffer to come into Egypt. With these they made a treaty, and invaded Egypt. But Amenophis waited not to oppose their incursion, but fled into Ethiopia, leaving his wife pregnant; and she concealed herself in a cavern, where she brought forth a child, and named him Messenes, who, when he arrived at manhood, drove out the Jews into Syria, being about 20,000, and recalled his father Amenophis from Ethiopia.'"[1]

It will be observed, as Josephus points out, that while Manetho traces the expulsion of the Israelites to the king's desire for a sight of the gods, Chaeremon founds the whole story upon a dream sent by Isis to Amenophis, and states that Phritiphantes, not Amenophis, was the chief actor in the movement. In the numbers, too, they are completely at variance, Manetho counting 80,000 exiles, and Chaeremon putting up the score to 250,000. Then, again, Chaeremon represents Joseph as a companion of Moses, whereas he died 170 years before Moses was born; and while Manetho describes Ramesses, the son of Amenophis, as assisting his father in the

[1] *Cont. Apion*, Lib. I., c. 32.

war, Chaeremon states that he was born in a cave after his father's death.

The next author specially criticized by Josephus is LYSIMACHUS, of Alexandria.[1] Josephus gives the following extract, probably from his *Egyptiaca*:[2]—

"In the reign of Bocchoris, king of Egypt, the Jewish people, being infected with leprosy, scurvy, and some other diseases, took refuge in the temples, and begged for food; and in consequence of the vast number of persons who fell into the sickness, there was a failure of crops in Egypt. Upon this, Bocchoris, the king of the Egyptians, sent persons to consult the oracle of Ammon respecting the barrenness. The god told him to cleanse the temples from all impure and impious men, and to cast them out from the temples into desert places, but to drown those who were affected with scurvy and leprosy, as the Sun was annoyed at their existence, and to purify the temples; and then the land would bring forth fruit. When Bocchoris had received the oracles, he assembled the priests and attendants of the altars, and commanded them to collect the unclean persons, and deliver them over to the soldiers, who were to conduct them into the

[1] The date of Lysimachus is uncertain, but subsequent to that of Mnaseas, who mentions him. Mnaseas was a disciple of Aristarchus, who flourished B.C. 158-156.—Clinton, *Fast. Hell.*, Vol. iii., pp. 549, 553.

[2] *Cont. Apion*, Lib. I., c. 34.

desert; but to wrap the lepers in sheets of lead, and throw them into the sea.

"Those afflicted with leprosy and scurvy having been drowned, the rest were sent in a body to the desert, and exposed to perish. But they took counsel together about themselves, and when night came on lighted up fires and torches to defend themselves, and fasted all the next night to propitiate the gods to save them.

"On the following day a certain man called Moyses advised them to persevere in cutting one road until they should arrive at habitable places, and enjoined them neither to be friendly with any man, nor to give the best advice, but the worst; and if they should meet with the temples and altars of gods, to overthrow them.

"Other things having been agreed upon, they journeyed through the desert, acting upon these instructions; and after many hardships they at length reached the habitable country, and, having committed acts of violence upon the inhabitants, and plundered and burned the temples, they came at length to the land now called Judaea, where they founded a city, and dwelt in it. This city was named Hierosyla, from their disposition.[1] But in after-times, when they acquired strength, they changed the name, which had been given as a reproach, and

[1] To rob temples.

called the city Hierosolyma, and themselves Hierosolymites."

Lysimachus, then, though he seems to gloat over the subject of the leprosy, differs from both Manetho and Chaeremon in essential particulars; for he places the departure from Egypt in the time of Bocchoris instead of Amenophis, takes no notice of the dream sent to Moses, but says the Jews consulted the oracle of Ammon, and, as if his predecessors had not stigmatized the Jews sufficiently, tells us that the first name of their metropolis was chosen to memorialize their love of sacrilege, so that they themselves took pains to perpetuate the memory of their own crimes!

Another of Schiller's guides is DIODORUS SICULUS, who lived under Julius Caesar and Augustus. Let us take an extract from him:[1]—

"In ancient times, a plague having arisen in Egypt, the multitude attributed the cause of the evil to the Deity. For a large number of foreigners of various nations were dwelling there, and as they practised strange rites in their worship and sacrifices, the honours of the gods as handed down from the fathers fell into disuse. Whence the native inhabitants inferred that unless they removed those of other races, there would never be an end of the

[1] *Biblioth. Hist.*, Lib. XL., ed. Wesselingii, Amst. 1746, Tom. ii., pp. 542—544.

mischief. Foreigners, therefore, being immediately expelled, the most eminent and energetic of them, banded together, were cast forth, and went, as some say, into Greece and some other quarters, under the conduct of noteworthy leaders, of whom the most illustrious were Danaus and Cadmus. But the greater part of the people were banished into the country now called Judaea, situated not far from Egypt, being in those times entirely desert. The leader of this colony was Moses, as he is called, a man very remarkable for his great wisdom and valour. When he had taken possession of the land, he founded, among other cities, that which is called Jerusalem, which is now very celebrated. There also he built a temple, which is held by them in the utmost veneration. He then taught the worship and sacred observances of the Deity. He also gave laws to the commonwealth, reduced it to regular order, and divided the people into twelve tribes, because he considered this the most perfect number, and corresponding to the number of months that make up the year. But he would not permit any image or statue of gods to be set up, for he believed that God is not of human form, but that this heaven which everywhere surrounds the earth is God alone, and has all things in command. He established sacrificial rites and a manner of living very different from the customs of other peoples,

and through his own banishment he introduced an unsocial mode of life, hostile to strangers. He selected the men of the noblest bearing, and most capable of standing before the whole people when formed into one body, that he might appoint them priests. To these he assigned the duty of constantly frequenting the temple and carrying on the worship of God and sacrifices. He also caused them to preside as judges when matters of high importance were the subject of dispute, and made it a part of their office to see that the laws and customs were faithfully observed. Hence it is said that the Jews never had a king; the power was always committed to him who excelled the rest of the priests[1] in intelligence and virtue. They salute this man as High Priest,[2] and regard him as the messenger of the commands of God; they say he communicates, in the public assemblies and other meetings, the orders that have been given him;[3] and the Jews

[1] The union of the priestly and the judicial functions was by no means a regular Mosaic institution, though it did occur in the case of Eli, as it had obtained in the patriarchal age, and was revived by the Asmoneans. The error on the part of Diodorus may be due partly to the circumstance of its pre-Mosaic and post-Mosaic prevalence, and partly to the twofold usage of the term כֹּהֲנִים, *cohanim*, which was applied not only to priests, but to administrators of civil affairs. In the latter sense it is used as a designation of the sons of David (2 Sam. viii. 18).

[2] Τοῦτον δὲ προσαγορεύουσιν ἀρχιερέα.

[3] Τὰ παραγγελλόενα.

are so tractable with regard to this that they immediately fall down on the earth before the High Priest, while he performs the office of interpreter. At the end of their laws it is written: MOSES, HAVING HEARD GOD, SAYS THUS TO THE JEWS.[1] The lawgiver also took great interest and showed remarkable sagacity with regard to military matters, and urged the young men to exercise themselves in courage, fortitude, and constancy under all vexations. He also made expeditions against neighbouring races, and transferred the conquered land in large gifts to his own people as their hereditary possession, so distributing it that private persons should share alike, while the priests should receive larger portions, in order that, having ample revenues, they might give themselves assiduously, and without distraction, to the service of God. Private individuals were not permitted to sell their own portions lest a few rich persons, by buying up the property of others, should push out the poorer class, and so thin the population. He made it a point that the inhabitants should pay special attention to the bringing up of families, and, as little children are maintained at a small cost, the race of the Jews always prospered in numbers. In reference to marriages and the burial of the dead, he laid down many laws different

[1] *ΟΤΙ ΜΩΣΗΣ ΑΚΟΥΣΑΣ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΤΑΔΕ ΛΕΓΕΙ ΤΟΙΣ ΙΟΥΔΑΙΟΙΣ.*

from what is customary with other men. Under the sway of subsequent rulers, in the fourth Persian hegemony,[1] and that of the Macedonians which overturned it, many of the ancestral customs of the Jews were destroyed by foreign admixture."

It is easy to see how the idea of the connexion between the Hyksos and the Jews arose in the minds of the Egyptian historians. Their own records informed them that in former days a body of shepherds had invaded Egypt; they also knew that the Jews had once dwelt in Egypt as a pastoral people, and had migrated from that land to Palestine. They probably knew nothing about Jacob, for his coming was not an event of sufficient importance to excite much public attention.

On the other hand, they well knew that leprosy had been common in their country, and from these

[1] Although the Jews became corrupted and idolatrous, by mingling with other peoples, there is not the slightest reason to believe that they ever changed their own national rites or customs in any material point. Wesseling, in a Latin note on this passage, observes that what Diodorus means by the fourth Persian hegemony is not at all clear, and that Zornius, in his *Prolegom. Hecat. Abder.*, somewhat unceremoniously rejects the whole of this eclogue as spurious, and belonging to Hecataeus the Milesian. Wesseling, however, conjectures that Photius, who preserved this fragment, and made Diodorus say, Ἑκαταῖος ὁ Μιλήσιος ταῦτα ἱστόρηκεν, was in error, and confounded Hecataeus Milesius with Hecataeus of Abdera, who was a contemporary of Alexander the Great and Ptolemy. Dindorf reads simply, ἐπὶ τε τῆς τῶν Περσῶν ἡγεμονίας.

few threads of fact it was no difficult matter to weave a story which was so well suited to their purpose, and proved so entertaining to Schiller.

This view is advocated by Frankel, in his *Monatschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, October, 1851; and, to say the least, it is more feasible than the theory that Moses, who was honest enough to tell posterity of his own failings, both suppressed the truth and fabricated a tissue of lies concerning his people.

But, passing by the question how an assembly of lepers had spirit enough to raise a rebellion and frighten away the Egyptian king to Ethiopia, and to say nothing of the fact that the sanitary laws of Moses were evidently drawn up as precautions only, and that there is not a hint in the Mosaic account of any general prevalence of such a complaint among the Israelites; let Diodorus himself be fairly interpreted, and it will be seen that he gives no support to the fiction of Manetho. He simply states that "a pestilence" (literally "a pestilential state") arose in Egypt. There is not a word about leprosy, or about a disease, whatever it was, peculiar to the Jews. Nay, according to him, the Jews were driven out, not because they were leprous, but because it was supposed that the "strange rites" to which they were addicted had awakened the wrath of Egypt's gods. This, therefore, so far from implying

uncleanness on the part of the Jews, is simply a testimony to their maintenance of a worship which was inconsistent with Egyptian ideas. What that worship was we know, and therefore the words of this pagan writer, if they are of any historic value at all, must be accepted as an indirect proof that the Jews faithfully adhered to their monotheistic religion when they were little better than slaves in an idolatrous land.

Putting side by side with this passage from Diodorus the assertion of his contemporary Cicero[1] that the religion of the Jews was "barbarous superstition," and the opinion of Tacitus,[2] that its laws were "hostile to men, and calculated to inspire the Jew with hatred and opposition to the rest of mankind,"

[1] *Pro L. Flacco*, c. xxviii. Cicero evidently despised the services of the temple, which were too simple for the taste of a Roman as compared with the gorgeous and elaborate paraphernalia of a polytheistic system. He says, "While Jerusalem was flourishing, and while the Jews were in a peaceful state, the religious observances of that people were very much at variance with the splendour of this empire, and the dignity of our name, and the institutions of our ancestors." While the Romans had a vast assemblage of gods, the Jews had only one God; and this naturally gave the Jewish worship a character of crudeness and baldness to the Roman mind. Here, therefore, is another testimony to the firmness of the Jews in upholding monotheism. But Cicero betrays a still stronger motive for disliking the Jewish institutions, when he says, "And they are more odious to us now, because that nation has shown by arms what were its feelings towards our supremacy." It was the determined resistance of the Jews to the domination of Caesar that awoke the hatred of the Roman.

[2] Tacit., *Histor.*, V.

it is obvious that Diodorus[1] and Cicero drew from the same source, and that Tacitus borrowed, almost word for word, from the Greek of the Sicilian.

It will not be inappropriate to close this brief examination of Diodorus with an extract from the very temperate strictures of the Jewish scholar to whom reference has already been made.[2]

"No other time," he observes, "than that of the second temple is suited to the location of armies on the boundaries, and the prophetic office of the High Priest is evidently an echo of the speaking by Urim and Thummim (Numb. xxvii. 21), which could only be placed in the time of the first temple, as may be seen from Josephus, and as the Talmud (*Joma* 21. *b*) expressly states. Falling to the earth, and kneeling before the High Priest, has no foundation, either in the time of the first or of the second temple. Diodorus may possibly have been deceived by the fact that, on the day of atonement, at the *prayer* of the High Priest, the congregation in the temple-hall fell on their knees (*Joma* vi. 2). What he says as to larger possessions being given to the priests is contrary to truth as to either time, the priests having had no land (Numb. xviii. 20). But the account breathes no animosity, for the narrator had not

[1] Mr. Gliddon, *Otia Aegyptiaca*, Lond. 1849, p. 38, calls Diodorus "the clumsy plagiarist."

[2] Frankel's *Monatschrift für G. und W. des Judenthums*, March, 1856.

drawn it from those Syrian streams. He lived at a time when they were not flowing."

The only remaining author named by Schiller as one of those who "knew scarcely anything about the Jews besides this leprosy," is STRABO the geographer, whose labours united the old era with the Christian times.

His account is as follows:[1]—"One of the Egyptian priests, named Moses, who possessed a portion of the country called the Lower Egypt, being dissatisfied with the established institutions there, left it, and came to Judaea, with a large body of people who stood in awe of the Divinity.[2] He said and taught that the Egyptians and Libyans had erred in representing the Divinity under the likeness of wild beasts and cattle of the field; that the Greeks also were mistaken in making images of their gods after the human form. For he said that this one thing alone was God, which encompasses us all, and land and sea, which we call heaven, and the universe, and the nature of things.[3] Who, then, with a sound mind, would venture to form an image of this, resembling any of the things which are amongst us? On the con-

[1] *Geog.*, Lib. XVI., c. 2, s. 35.

[2] Τιμῶντες τὸν θεῖον.

[3] Εἷς γὰρ ἓν τοῦτο μόνον Θεὸς τὸ περιέχον ἡμᾶς ἅπαντας καὶ γῆν καὶ θάλατταν ὃ καλοῦμεν οὐρανὸν καὶ κόσμον καὶ τὴν τῶν ὄντων φύσιν.

trary, we ought not to carve any images, but to set apart some sacred ground and shrine worthy of the Deity, and to worship Him without any similitude. He taught that those who made fortunate dreams were to be permitted to sleep in the temple,[1] where they might dream both for themselves and others, that those who lived a temperate and just life might expect something, whether in the way of gift or sign, from God, and that others were to expect nothing.

"By such doctrine as this Moses persuaded not a few right-minded persons, and led them forth to the place where Jerusalem now stands. He easily obtained possession of it, as the spot was not such as to excite jealousy, or one for which there was likely to be any fierce contention; for it is rocky, and, although well supplied with water, it is surrounded by a barren and waterless territory. The space within (the city) is sixty stadia, with rock underneath.

"Instead of arms, he taught that their defence was in their sacred things and the Divinity, for whom he was desirous of finding a settled place, promising to

[1] Braun *de Vestitu Sacerd. Hebr.*, quoted by John Jacob Schudt in his *Compendium Historiæ Judaicæ*, Frankfort, 1700, p. 143, suggests that Strabo was led into this mistaken idea by having heard that it was the duty of the priests and Levites to sleep in the Temple in turn, according to their watches, as Samuel and Eli did (Sam. iii. 3). Or, he thinks, perhaps because he had been told, or had read on the monuments of the Hebrews, that the tabernacle and table and sacred vessels were covered with skins (Numb. iv. 5).

he people to deliver such a kind of worship and religion as should not burden with great expense those who adopted it, nor trouble them with instances of possession by the Deity,[1] nor other absurd practices.

"Moses, having thus won their good opinion, established no ordinary kind of government. All the nations around willingly united themselves to him, allured by his discourses, and the things he held out to them.[2]

"His successors continued for some time to keep the same course, doing justly and worshipping God with sincerity. Afterwards superstitious persons were appointed to the priesthood, and then tyrants. From superstition arose abstinence from flesh, from the eating of which it is now their custom to refrain, circumcision, . . .[3] and other practices which the people observe.

"Tyrannical government produced robbery; for those who rebelled plundered both their own and the neighbouring countries, and those also who shared in the government seized upon the property of others, and ravaged a large part of Syria and of Phoenicia.

"Respect, however, was paid to their Acropolis;

[1] *Θεοφορίαις.*

[2] *τὰ προτεινομένα.*

[3] *καὶ αἱ ἐκτομαί.* Vide also c. 4, s. 9, where Strabo ascribes the same custom to the Creophagi, a tribe inhabiting a district near the harbour of Antiphilus, in the Arabian Gulf . . . *αἱ γυναῖκες Ἰουδαϊκῶς ἐκτετμημέναι.*

it was not abhorred as the seat of tyranny, but honoured and venerated as a temple."

While it is evident that Strabo had read Diodorus and adopted his representation of the Jewish theology, it is equally plain that either he did not understand the Sicilian as attributing the plague of leprosy to the Jews, or, if he did, he rejected the tradition as unworthy of belief, for he says nothing about it. How therefore Schiller could drag him in as a party to the calumniation is inexplicable, except on the ground that he did not take pains to consult Strabo with his own eyes, and perhaps he thought, as too many have done, that there was no sin in vilifying the Jews.

So much for the authors actually named by Schiller.

But what of the "many others" who, according to him, join in the same strain as Manetho and his disciples?

Going back to pre-Augustan literature, we find not a syllable about the leprosy in DIUS,[1] or in the Chaldean BEROSUS, who lived in the time of Alex-

[1] Dius, in his *History of the Phœnicians*, says that Solomon and Hiram used to exchange riddles, and relates how it was agreed between the two royal correspondents that whichever failed to solve a riddle sent him should pay a fine. Hiram at first came in for heavy damages to Solomon, till at last Abdemon, a man of Tyre, came to the rescue, found the solution, and proposed others which so completely puzzled the Jewish monarch that he was obliged to refund a large portion of his gains. The same anecdote is given from Menander by Theophilus Antioch., *Ad Autolyc.*, III. 2. Vid. Vossius, *De Hist. Graec.*, Lib. III.

ander the Great, and describes the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, or in HERMIPPUS, who wrote at least as early as B.C. 203, from whom we learn that Pythagoras imported Jewish and Thracian opinion into his system, or in HERODOTUS (born B.C. 484), from whom we shall give a quotation hereafter; nor is there anything of the sort in the rough lines of CHOERILUS of Samos (born about B.C. 479, and the author of an epic on the wars of the Greeks with Xerxes and Darius), which Josephus uses to illustrate the bad animus of the Greeks against the Jews. After describing the other portions of the army of Xerxes, in his expedition against Greece, the old poet adds:[1]—

"At last there passed by a people wonderful to look upon, sending forth from their mouths the Phoenician tongue. They dwell in the Solymian Mountains, near a broad lake. They have grimy heads, shaved all round, and the skin of their foreheads is like the skin of horses dried in a chimney."[2]

It is most likely that Choerilus here refers, not to

[1] *Cont. Apion*, Lib. I., c. 22.

[2] Whiston thinks that Choerilus could not mean the Solymi in Pisidia, because (1) these were not "a strange people," but heathen idolaters like the rest of the army of Xerxes; (2) it is hardly possible that they should have spoken the Phoenician tongue, which the Jews undoubtedly did; (3) their lake was neither large in comparison with the Dead Sea of the Jews, nor near the

inhabitants of Palestine, but to the Lycian Solymi, who figure in the Sixth Book of Homer's Iliad (line 184) as fighting with Bellerophon when he was banished by King Praetus, and that the Solymian hills of Choerilus are those named in the Odyssey (Book V., line 282,) where Homer says,[1] "Mighty

Solymian Mountains; (4) the Pisidian Solymi were not so considerable a people or so likely to be desired by Xerxes for his army; (5) this uncomplimentary language is quite of a piece with the reproaches constantly hurled against the Jews. Whiston, however, in his translation, uses the term "nasty horseheads," which the Greek of Choerilus hardly justifies. The text, as given in Havercamp's edition, runs thus :—

Τῷ δ' ὄπιθεν διέβαινε γένος θαυμαστὸν ἰδέσθαι,
Γλῶσσαν μὲν Φοίνισσαν ἀπὸ στομάτων ἀφιέντες·
Ὠκέετ' ἐν Σολύμοις ὄρεσι πλατέῃ ἐνὶ λίμνῃ,
Αἰχμάλεοι κορυφὰς, τροχοκούριδες· αὐτὰρ ὕπερθεν
Ἵππων δαρτὰ πρόσωπ' ἐφόρουν ἐσκληκότα καπνῳ.

The Latin version of Dindorf (Paris, 1845), who does not differ in anything material from the text of Havercamp, is,—

Exin miranda specie gens castra sequuta est,
Phoenicum ignoto quae voces ederet ore.
Haec Solymos habitans montes stagnum prope vastum,
circumtonsa comis, squalenti vertice, equini
exuvias capitis duratas igne gerebat.

Whiston makes a slight error in speaking (reason No. 4) as though the people in question formed a part of the army. The text says, τῷ δ' ὄπιθεν διέβαινε, and it may be that the Solymi were only camp-followers, as Dindorf represents them.

Τὸν δ' ἐξ Αἰθόπων, ἀνιὼν κρείων Εἰνοσίχθων
Τηλόθιν ἐκ Σολύμων ὀρέων ἴδεν.

These mountains are also mentioned by Herodotus, Lib. I., c. 173, and Strabo, *Geog.*, Lib. I., pp. 39, 59, 60. See also Pindar, *Olymp.*, Ode xiii., ver. 129, καὶ Σολύμους ἔπεφυεν.

Neptune, returning from Ethiopia, beheld him from afar, from the mountains of the Solymi."

But even if the Solymi of Lycia and Pisidia were of Semitic descent, as Rawlinson suggests[1] (and this would account for their speaking the Phoenician language), so that the picture drawn by Choerilus could be identified with the Israelites, it conveys no hint of such a horrid national affliction as Manetho afterwards ascribed to them. Choerilus, so far from representing the wanderers who went into Greece with Xerxes as victims of a destructive hereditary disease, places before us, with some exaggeration, it is true, a band of sunburnt, weatherbeaten men, who came from tending their flocks night and day on the lonely hills, or lived a nomadic life where the chances of gain happened to lead them. Volunteers such as these might be useful to a military host. But a warrior who encumbered his forces with creatures known to carry within them a loathsome

[1] "Colonel Leake conjectures that this broad lake was that of Egerdir. (*Geograph. Journal*, xii., p. 165.) Strabo regards both the Milyans and Cabalians as Solymi, and considers that a people of this name had once held the heights of Taurus, from Lycia to Pisidia. That the Pisidians were Solymi is asserted by Pliny (v. 2) and Stephen (*s. v.* Pisidia). The same people left their name in Lycia to Mount Solyma. Here we seem to have a trace of a Semitic occupation of these countries preceding the Indo-European."—*The History of Herodotus*, by George Rawlinson, M.A., and Sir J. G. Wilkinson, F.R.S., assisted by Colonel Sir H. R. Rawlinson, K.C.B., Vol. I., p. 308, *footnote:* Murray, 1858.

poison would be simply an idiot, and Xerxes was not this.

Here, therefore, we may dismiss the subject of the leprosy, which doubtless had its home, not in Goshen, but in the lower lands of Egypt, and especially on the Delta, where the sunbeams, pouring their heat on the half-fluid plains left by the receding Nile, naturally charged the air with seeds of pestilence.[1]

[1] "Alpini could not help acknowledging that the leprosy was most common in Egypt, and under certain conditions arose there of itself. Kircher and Knold, Mead, Cartheuser, Montesquieu, and Chicoyneau, considered that it was brought forth in Egypt by local causes. The same opinion was shared by the medical men who followed the French army into Egypt, under Napoleon Buonaparte, in the year 1798. R. Desgenette, *Histoire Médicale de l'Armée d'Orient*, 2nd Ed., Paris, 1830; J. Larrey, *Relation Historique et Chirurgical de l'Expédition de l'Armée d'Orient en Egypte et en Syrie*, Paris, 1803; J. F. X. Pugnet, *Mémoires sur les Fièvres de Mauvais Caractère du Levant et des Antilles*, Lyons et Paris, 1804; Ludwig Frank, *De Peste, Dysenteria, et Ophthalmia Aegyptiaca*, Vienna, 1820; and Savaresi, all declared the leprosy to be an endemic disease peculiar to the soil of Egypt. And this view was confirmed by the results of the commission sent to Egypt by the French Government in 1828, for the exclusive purpose of inquiring into the causes of the leprosy."—*Die Pest des Orients*, by Dr. C. J. Lorinser, Berlin, 1837. The chief opponent of this view was Dr. Enrico di Wolmar, who published a treatise on the subject in 1827, and maintained that the disease originated in Constantinople. But Lorinser considers that Enrico's judgment was warped by prejudice against the Commission, which occasioned him great annoyance.

Dean Milman (*Hist. of the Jews*, Vol. I., p. 119, Note) thinks the leprosy was prevalent among the Hebrews, and would be

But the classic pages of antiquity furnish information, more or less confirmatory of the Mosaic writings, on other points in Jewish history; and we propose to examine some of these in their chronological order.

easily accounted for by the wretched huts they lived in, after the fresh air to which they had been accustomed in their shepherd life, and the change to a miserable diet after feeding on their flocks. But he renders no support to the idea of their expulsion on this account.

II.

THE ORIGIN, RITES, CUSTOMS, AND PECULIARITIES OF THE JEWS.

HERODOTUS (Book II., ch. 104) says, " . . . the Colchians, the Egyptians, and the Ethiopians are the only nations who have practised circumcision from the earliest times, and the Syrians of Palestine themselves confess that they learnt the custom of the Egyptians; and the Syrians who dwell about the rivers Thermodon and Parthenius, as well as their neighbours the Macronians, say that they have recently adopted it from the Colchians." Rawlinson, in a note on this passage, considers that the term "Palestine Syrians" was used by Herodotus as including, but not as limited to the Jews, and he points out that Herodotus may be excused for supposing that the Jews borrowed circumcision from the Egyptians, since they did not practise it as a regular and universal custom till after they left Egypt, which, he says, is proved by the new generation in the wilderness not being cir-

cumcised till their arrival on the plains of Jericho (Josh. v. 5, 7), though it had been adopted by the Patriarchs and their families from the time of Abraham. But he observes: "Herodotus is justified in calling the Jews Syrians, as they were comprehended geographically under that name, and they were ordered to speak and say before the Lord God, '*A Syrian* ready to perish was my father, and he went down into Egypt, and sojourned there with a few, and became there a great nation' (Deut. xxvi. 5)."

Bk. III., ch. 5. ". . the country from Phoenicia to the borders of the city Cadytis[1] belongs to the people called the Palestine Syrians; from Cadytis, which it appears to me is a city almost as large as Sardis, the marts upon the coast till you reach Jenysus are the Arabian king's; after Jenysus the Syrians again come in, and extend to Lake Serbônis, near the place where Mount Casius juts into the sea." Bk. VII., ch. 89, in describing the Persian navy, he continues, "The triremes amounted in all to 1, 207, and were furnished by the following nations: (1) the Phoenicians, with the Syrians of Palestine, furnished three hundred vessels, the crews of which were thus accoutred: upon their heads they wore helmets, made nearly in the Grecian manner; about

[1] Rawlinson explains this to be Gaza, and he says Jenysus is not Khan Yoones, "the resting-place of Jonas," as some have thought, but a place much nearer Egypt.

their bodies they had breastplates of linen; they carried shields without rims, and were armed with javelins. This nation, according to their own account, dwelt anciently upon the Erythraean Sea, but crossing thence, fixed themselves on the sea-coast of Syria, where they still inhabit. This part of Syria, and all the region extending from hence to Egypt, is known by the name of Palestine."

BEROSUS (born B.C. 330), the Chaldean astronomer and philosopher, of whose works only fragments remain, preserved by Josephus, Syncellus, and some of the Christian fathers, adopts the Scripture narrative of the Deluge, calls Moses "the legislator of the Jews," and narrates the conquest of Jerusalem as well as of Egypt by Nebuchadnezzar, who was sent, as he states, by his father, Nabolassar, on this expedition, in consequence of a revolt against his authority. He also depicts the ruin of the temple, the seventy years' desolation of the holy city, and the placing of the Jews, as colonies, in various parts of Babylonia.

CLEARCHUS,[1] a Peripatetic and a disciple of Aristotle, in his book on *Sleep* reports his master as

[1] This versatile writer is very frequently quoted by Athenaeus. He wrote many works, among which may be named his *Biographies;* a *Commentary on Plato's Timaeus;* an *Encomium*, and another work on *Plato;* and Treatises on *Flattery*, on *Education*, on *Friendship*, on *Riddles*, on *Paintings*, on the *Torpedo*, on *Water Animals*, on *Sand Wastes*, and on *Sleep*. He also produced *Love*

saying, in conversation with another of his pupils, that the Jews sprang from the Indian philosophers, that they were called by the Indians *Calami*, but afterwards took the name of the country (Judaea), whither they fled. Aristotle also gave an account of one whom he knew as coming from Celesyria, and who was remarkable for his abstemious mode of living. This man, Aristotle said, conversed with him and other philosophers, testing their skill, and "giving them more information than he derived from them."

HECATAEUS of Abdera,[1] a philosopher and statesman in the time of Alexander the Great, and patronized by Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, twice

Stories, and a work on *Anatomy*. The authenticity of the Essay on *Sleep* has been called in question, though Clemens Alexandrinus (*Stromata*, I., 15) refers to it. Athenaeus (*Deipnosophistarum*, Lib. IV., c. 45) quotes an extract from the Second Book of the "*Lives* of Clearchus," in which the Peripatetic teaches that souls are confined in bodies by way of penalty, and that the gods have ordained that any who escape before they (the gods) are pleased to liberate them, shall fall into worse evils; and that, therefore, we should guard our life with care till old age, persuaded that *that* liberation will come to pass according to the will of the gods.

[1] Among the works ascribed to this Hecataeus are treatises on *Homer and Hesiod*, on *The Hyperboreans*, on *Egypt*, and on *The History of the Jews*. Different opinions are entertained as to the authority of the last mentioned, and Suidas does not mention it, Origen says (*Cont. Cels.*, I., 15); but as it is frequently referred to by ancient writers, I give the substance of the quotations in Josephus (*Cont. Apion*, I., 22, ed. Dindorf, Paris, 1847; p. 355): "And there is extant a work by the historian Hecataeus, treating of the

speaks of Hezekiah (whom Josephus styles a High Priest), and notices the influence he enjoyed among his people, his power as an orator, his skill in the management of public affairs, and his having all the habitations of his countrymen, and every particular about their national polity, written down with great exactitude. He observes that all the Jewish priests took tithes of the products of the earth, and that there were not more than 1,500 of them at most. He also comments, with evident appreciation, on the resolute way in which they carry out their religious views, in spite of the most cruel persecutions; and he instances the fact that, though they assisted the Macedonians to destroy the old (heathen) temples and altars, when required to help in rebuilding them, they endured severe losses rather than comply.

The description which Hecataeus gives of the Jewish metropolis is interesting and graphic:—

"There are many strong places," he says, "in the country of Judaea; but there is one fortified city, about fifty furlongs in circumference, inhabited

Jews, in which so high a character is bestowed upon that nation for its learning that Herennius Philo, in his treatise on the Jews, has doubts in the first place whether it is really the composition of the historian; and says, in the second place, that if it is really his, it is probable that he was carried away by the plausible nature of the Jewish history, and so yielded his assent to their system."—*Ante-Nicene Christian Library*, Vol. i., p. 413.

by about 120,000 men. They call it Jerusalem. There is about the middle of the city a stone enclosure, 500 feet long and 100 cubits broad, with double gates; within this is a square altar, made of unhewn white stones collected together, having each side twenty cubits long and ten cubits high. Close by this is a large edifice containing an altar and a candlestick, both of gold, and two talents in weight; and over these a light that is never extinguished by day or by night. There is no image or votive offering anywhere in it; nothing whatever is planted there, nor is there any grove or anything of that sort. The priests remain there nights and days, performing certain purifications, and drink no wine while they are in the temple."

Hecataeus relates an amusing episode which occurred when he was travelling. Among the guides who conducted the party in which he once journeyed to the Red Sea was a Jewish horseman called Mosollam, a man of great courage and physical strength, and universally admitted to be the cleverest of archers. On one occasion, when the road was full of people, an augur was observing an augury by a bird, and required every one to stand still. Mosollam asked why they stopped. The augur at once pointed to the bird that he was watching, and told him that if the bird stayed where it was, they must halt; if it rose and flew onwards, they should

proceed on their march; and if it flew backwards, they must retrace their steps. Mosollam made no reply, but drew his bow, shot at the bird, hit it, and killed it. The augur was of course indignant, and began to hurl his imprecations upon the Jew. "But why," said Mosollam, "are you so mad as to take this most unfortunate bird into your hands? How can this bird, which has not foresight enough to save itself, give us any true information respecting our marches? Could it have known what was future, it would not have come to this place, but would have been afraid lest Mosollam should shoot at it and kill it."

POLEMO (B.C. 199), a Stoic philosopher, and author of many geographical and other works, twenty-eight of which are catalogued in Clinton's *Fasti Hellenici* (Vol. iii:, p. 542), is thus cited by Africanus in the *Præparatio Evangelica* of Eusebius, Bk. 10: "Some of the Greeks also relate that Moses flourished in those times. Polemo, in the first book of his Grecian Histories, says, 'In the reign of Apis, the son of Phoroneus, a portion of the Egyptian army deserted from Egypt, and took up their habitation in Palestine, called Syria, not far from Arabia, evidently meaning the same men that were with Moses."

Another ancient Greek quoted by Josephus is AGATHARCHIDES,[1] who testifies to the strictness with

[1] Agatharchides, when young, was secretary and reader to Heraclides Lembus, who, according to Suidas (Vol. i., Part ii.,

which the Jews kept their Sabbaths, though he does it in the spirit of ridicule.

"There is a people," he writes, "called Jews, who dwell in a city, the strongest of all other cities, which the inhabitants call Jerusalem, and they are accustomed to rest on every seventh day. At these times they make no use of their arms, nor meddle with husbandry, nor take care of any affairs of life, but spread out their hands in their holy places, and pray till evening. Now it came to pass that when Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, came into this city with his army, these men, in observing this mad custom of theirs, instead of guarding the city, suffered their country to submit itself to a bitter lord; and their law was openly proved to have commanded a foolish practice. This accident taught all other men but the Jews to disregard such dreams as these were, and not to follow the like idle suggestions delivered

p. 879), lived in the reign of Ptolemy VI. This king died B.C. 146. Agatharchides was afterwards guardian to one of the Egyptian kings during his minority. He was the author of geographical works, besides historical treatises on *Asia*, *Europe*, *the Erythraen Sea*, *and the Trogolodytae*, in whose country he says the camelopard was found, and one on *Intercourse with Friends*. Vid. Dr. Smith's *Class. Dict.* We are dependent on Josephus alone for the subjoined fragment, as it is not noticed by Athenaeus, although he quotes several other passages from Agatharchides, or by Lucian, who also cites him. Fabricius (*Bibliotheca Graeca*, Vol. iii., p. 32, ed. G. C. Harles, Hamburg, 1783) conjectures that Josephus found this paragraph in the Περὶ Ἀσιας, from which Photius makes a number of interesting extracts in his Cod. ccxiii.

as a law, when, in such uncertainty of human reasonings, they are at a loss what they should do."

ARTABANUS, or ARTAPANUS, a Greek historian, of uncertain date, who wrote a treatise on the Jews, is thus quoted by C. Müller,[1] from Polyhistor:[2]—

"Now Artapanus says in his Jewish history that the Jews were called *Ermiouth*, which word, if interpreted (translated) according to the Grecian language, means *Jews;* and that the *Hebrews* themselves were called after Abraham. He says that this person (Abraham) came into Egypt, with his whole family, to the king of the Egyptians, Pharetho, and taught him astrology; that, after remaining there for twenty years, he returned again into the country of Syria, but that many of those who had entered with him took up their residence in Egypt, owing to the fertility of the country.

[1] C. Müller, *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, Vol. iii., p. 212.

[2] Alexander Cornelius Polyhistor (a Greek historian born in Asia Minor) is described by Suidas as having written almost innumerable books, and among the rest one on Rome, in which he stated that there was a Hebrew woman, named Moso, who was the author of the Jewish law. Suidas further says that Polyhistor was bought by and performed the office of teacher to Cornelius Lentulus, whose name he took. Suetonius, *De Illust. Gramm.*, 20, states that Cornelius Alexander was called "Polyhistor" on account of his acquaintance with antiquity, and some called him "Historia." He seems to have been at Rome in the times of Sylla. Servius (*Comment. in Virgil*, Æneid, X., 388,) mentions the fact that Sylla presented Polyhistor with the freedom of the city.

"In some anonymous works we find Abraham (represented as) retiring to the Giants, who were dwelling in Babylonia; and that they, for their wickedness, were destroyed by the gods; that one of them, Belus, managing to escape destruction, went and settled in Babylon, where he built a tower, in which he resided, and which (from the name of its builder, Belus) was called *Belus*. (It is said too) that Abraham, being deeply skilled in astrological science, came first into Phoenicia, and taught the Phoenicians astrology, and that it was afterwards that he went into Egypt."

Müller also gives a long extract from Artapanus[1] (like the former, evidently a corruption of the Pentateuchal narrative), in which Abraham is described as a king of Egypt, and Moses as a child of a Jewess, but adopted by the wife of Chenephra, one of the Egyptian kings, and called, both by his own mother and by the queen, Musaeus. His great wisdom and knowledge excited the envy of the king, who tried to get rid of him by sending him, at the head of some rustic troops, against a body of invading Ethiopians. He was not only successful, however, in this expedition, but became so popular among the Ethiopians that they received from him the rite of circumcision. The continued hatred of the king becoming a cause of serious danger, Moses

[1] Pp. 220—224.

fled, by advice of his brother Aaron, to Arabia; and being there met by an emissary from his royal master, with a drawn sword, Moses fought him and slew him. Subsequently to this he married the daughter of the Arabian king Ruguelus; and then follow accounts of the burning bush, his demanding from the Egyptian monarch the liberation of the Jews, and being cast into prison, but set free by the miraculous opening of the prison doors. On the king's asking him by whom he was sent, he whispered into the king's ear the name of God, at which the king fell down speechless, and was only restored by Moses himself. Then comes the miracle of the rod being turned into a serpent, and back again to a rod, the striking of the Nile and its overflow, the spreading of deadly disease by its stagnant waters, its retirement at the will of Moses, the efforts of the priests summoned from Memphis to perform like wonders, the renewal of cruelties to the Jews, and at length their departure under the leadership of Moses, who had "observed the time of the returning tide," and so conducted his followers safely across the Red Sea, their Egyptian pursuers perishing, partly by lightning and partly by drowning. The Jews are then fed by God in the desert for forty years on meal like millet,[1] resembling snow in its colour. Artapanus then adds that Moses was

[1] κριμνον, ὁμοιοον ελύμῳ.

tall, of a red complexion, with long grey hair, and a dignified bearing.

Apollonius Molon, an eminent Greek rhetorician at Rome in the time of Cicero, seems to have written against the Jews, not a regularly constructed argument, but, as Josephus tells us,[1] a treatise in which he scattered his aspersions in all directions throughout the work. But he bears witness, at least, to the distinct and decided position taken by Moses and his compatriots with reference to religion. He calls Moses "a conjuror and a deceiver," evidently alluding to existing traditions of his miracles; and he complains of the Jews as being "godless and hostile to other men."[2] He did not recognize their God as a God, because He was so different from the gods of Rome, and of the idolatrous nations generally.

A pagan accustomed to many gods, and gods with material forms, looking upon a puritan people who had been taught to revere an invisible Spirit, and to maintain a strictly monotheistic system in the face of a whole idolatrous world, would naturally feel that, to him, there was a vagueness, if not unreality, in their doctrines and their worship, with which he could have no sympathy; and until he could be trained to contemplate the spiritual apart

[1] *Cont. Apion*, Lib. II., c. 14.

[2] ὡς ἀθεόυς καὶ μισανθρώπους.

from the corporeal, and to shake off the habit of multiplying deities by all the objects that he saw and heard, it was hardly probable that he would regard the Jewish custom of praying to the Unseen otherwise than as whimsical and absurd; and he would of course regard the separation in which they held themselves from the Gentile temples as a proof of intolerable national pride, if not of stupidity.

The following extract from this author has been preserved by C. Müller,[1] as found in Polyhistor, c. 19:—

"Now Molon, who wrote the treatise against the Jews, says that, at the period of the Deluge, the one man who had been left alive with his sons had been driven out of his possessions by his own countrymen, and that, after traversing the intermediate country, he came from Armenia into the mountainous district of Syria, which was then uninhabited; —that, after three generations, Abraham was born (whose name by interpretation signifies 'Friend of the Father');—that he, a learned man (be it observed), explored the whole of that unpeopled tract; —that he took to himself two wives, the one a woman of the country, and a relative of his own, and the other an Egyptian handmaid;—that of the Egyptian woman he begat twelve sons, who migrated into Arabia, where they divided the country amongst

[1] *Op. cit.*, Vol. iii., p. 213.

them, and became the first sovereigns of the natives (whence up to our own time the kings of the Arabians bear the same names as they);—that of his lawful wife one single son was born to him, who (in the Greek tongue) was called Gelos;[1]—that Abraham died in old age, and that from Gelos and a native wife sprang Joseph and eleven other sons, and that from him (Joseph), in the third generation, came Moses.

"So says Polyhistor, adding the following, after other remarks: that after a short period God commanded Abraham to offer up his son Isaac as a burnt-offering to Him;—that he took the young man to the mountain, where he constructed a funeral pile, and placed Isaac upon it;—that when he was upon the very point of slaying him, he was prevented by an angel, who presented him a ram for the sacrifice instead;—and that Abraham released the youth from the pyre, and offered up the ram."

CICERO, born B.C. 106, characterizes the Jews[2] and Syrians as "nations born to slavery;" and when Flaccus was accused of rapine and oppression in the province of Asia, partly on the ground that he had not only prohibited the Jews from taking out of his province the gold which they annually collected

[1] = *Laughter* = *Isaac.*

[2] *Orat. de Provinciis Consularibus*, c. 5.

throughout the empire for the Temple in Jerusalem,[1] but had seized it all and sent it to Rome, Cicero defended him in the following terms:[2]—

"Next comes that charge about the Jewish gold. . . . . As gold, under the disguise of belonging to the Jews, was usually exported every year from Italy and all the provinces to Jerusalem, Flaccus issued an edict making it unlawful to carry gold out of Asia. Who is there, judges, that cannot in truth praise this? On several occasions before I was consul, and again during my consulship, the Senate pronounced its most serious decision against the propriety of exporting gold; and, moreover, to make a stand against this barbarous superstition was the part of strictness, and in the interests of the commonwealth to treat with disdain the rabble of the Jews, who sometimes show violence in the assemblies, was an act of supreme dignity.

"It may be argued that when Cnaeus Pompey took Jerusalem, he did not avail himself of his

[1] ". . . the Jews, now spread throughout almost all the world, made it a part of religion to send an annual contribution for the service of the Temple. This sum was so large, even in Italy, that Cicero, in his oration in defence of Flaccus, seems to urge the wisdom of a similar measure to that adopted by his client in Asia Minor, a prohibition of the practice, as draining the Roman provinces of their wealth. Hence the plunder of Crassus from the Temple of Jerusalem, estimated at ten thousand talents, according to Prideaux, near two millions of money, though perhaps exaggerated, may not be so remote from the truth."—Dean Milman's *History of the Jews*, Vol. ii., pp. 50, 51.

[2] *Orat. pro Flacco*, c. xxviii.

power as a conqueror to touch a single thing in that shrine.

"In the first place I reply, that in this instance, as in many others, he acted like a wise man, leaving no opportunity for a word to be said against him in a city so given to suspicion and evil-speaking (as Jerusalem). For I do not imagine that the religion of men who were both Jews and enemies was any obstacle to that most illustrious of generals, but that he was restrained by (his own) delicacy. Where, then, is the guilt? . . . . Every city, O Loelius, has its own religion; and we have ours. While Jerusalem kept its ground, and the Jews were in a peaceful state, their religious rites were repugnant to the splendour of this empire, the weight of our name, and the institutions of our ancestors; but they are more so now, because that race has shown by arms what were its feelings with regard to our supremacy; and how far it was dear to the immortal gods, we have learnt from the fact that it has been conquered, let out to hire, and enslaved."

In his *Epistle to Atticus*, Bk. II., 9, Cicero jokingly calls Pompey *Hierosolymarius*, in allusion to the captive inhabitants of Jerusalem.

But Plutarch tells us, in his *Life of Cicero*, that the great orator was often facetious, and that on one occasion when Cæcilius, a freedman, who was known for his leanings to the Jewish superstition, wanted to act independently of the Sicilians, and to take upon

himself the prosecution of Verres, Cicero replied, "What has a Jew to do with a hog?"[1] Plutarch explains the pun by observing, that in Latin *verres* means "hog."

HORACE, born 65 B.C., at the end of the Satire[2] in which he defends the liberty of a poet, claims the privilege of amusing himself with his papers, and threatens that if this indulgence is not granted, he will assemble a whole company of poets, "like proselytizing Jews," to help in converting his opponent. The allusion evidently points to the great activity of the Jews of that age in making converts to their faith, and even if they did not act thus from a purely missionary spirit, it was but natural that they should endeavour by this means to diminish the influence of their oppressors.

In Satire 5 of the same Book, he uses the well-known expression of contempt, *Credat Judaeus Apella*, according to the interpretation of Porphyrio[3] and Joannes Britannicus: "Let the circumcised Jew believe it." There was a freedman, Fabius Gallius, who owned the name of Apella, and Horace seems to have availed himself of its etymological meaning to frame a joke against the Jews.

[1] *Vit. Ciceron*, c. vii. *Quid, inquit, Judaeo cum verre est rei?*

[2] *Serm.*, Lib. I., 4, ver. 143:—

Ac veluti te
Judaei cogemus in hanc concedere turbam.

[3] *Horatius*, Ed. G. Fabricius, Basil., 1545, and Ed. Venet., 1536.

With a similar allusion in the 9th Satire of the same Book he represents his friend Fuscus Aristius as meeting him in the street and having something to communicate, but hesitating to do so because it was a day of high solemnity with the Jews.

Fuscus remarks, "This is the thirtieth Sabbath. Would you affront the circumcised Jews?"[1] Horace answers, "I have no scruple of conscience about that." "But," rejoins Fuscus, "I have; I am a bit weaker; one of the many."

It is apparent from this verse, that in the days of Horace it was no uncommon thing for Gentiles to respect the sacred days of the Jews.

OVID, born B.C. 43, refers to the Jewish Sabbath in his *Art of Love*, where he advises the youth who is seeking an object for his affections, not to forget the Temple of Venus when the Roman women, fol-

[1] Ver. 69. *Vin' tu curtis Judaeis oppedere?* Taking the Sabbath as representing a week, and supposing the calculation to start from the beginning of the Jewish year, it is supposed by some scholars that the time alluded to by Horace is the festive season of the Passover; others translate *tricesima Sabbata*, "the new moon;" and others consider it to be synonymous with Sabbath, because, according to Scaliger, the Jews observed the thirtieth day of each month as a Sabbath. Macleane looks upon the phrase merely as an "extemporaneous invention," and considers the point to consist in there being in Rome superstitious people who were terrified by the curses which the Jews denounced against transgressors of the Sabbath. Ovid mentions the Sabbath under this form (*Rem. Amor.* 219-20): *Nec pluvias vites: nec te peregrina morentur Sabbata.* "Never mind the rain, and don't stay for the Sabbaths of the strangers."

lowing the custom of the Syrians (Ezek. viii. 13) bewailed Adonis, and "the seventh day kept holy by the Syrian Jew."[1] He also recommends that a lover should pay his court to a young girl on such a day as this (a dull day in which there was not much to interest her), and not on her birthday, or at certain other times when she is likely to be much occupied with the attentions of others. "You must pay great respect," he says, "to her birthday." *Magna superstitio tibi sit natalis amicae.*

EUPOLEMUS, a Greek historian previous to the Christian era, says that "in the tenth generation, in the city Camarina of Babylonia, which some call the city of Urie, and which signifies a city of the Chaldeans, the thirteenth in descent lived Abraham, of a noble race, and superior to all others in wisdom, of whom they relate that he was the inventor of astrology and the Chaldaean magic, and that on account of his eminent piety he was esteemed by God. It is further said that under the directions of God he removed and lived in Phoenicia, and there taught the Phoenicians the motions of the sun and moon and all other things, for which reason he was held in great reverence by their king."[2]

[1] *Art. Amat.*, Lib. I., 75, 76. As the Jews had liberty of worship under Augustus, plenty of Jewesses might be seen in the streets and the places of worship on the seventh day, and hence Ovid advises Cœlebs to remember and have his eyes about him at that time.

[2] *Ancient Fragments*, by Isaac Preston Cory, Esq.: Lond.,

DIODORUS SICULUS, Bk. I., 28,[1] observes :—

"It is said that certain persons who went out of Egypt founded the nation of the Colchians in Pontus, as well as that of the Jews who were cast among the Arabians and Syrians, and that hence, through ancient tradition, it is the practice of these nations (the Colchians and the Jews) to circumcise the boys born to them, the rite having been derived from Egypt."

W. Pickering, 1832, p. 59. Those who wish to see how far the Semitic monotheism impressed itself upon the ancient heathen theologies will find this work an interesting and valuable study. Eupolemus wrote several works on the history of the Jews, one of which (περὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ βασιλέων) is mentioned by Clement Alex. (*Strom.* I. pp. 146, 148), and another (περὶ τῆς Ἡλίου) is referred to by Josephus (*Cont. Ap.*, i. 23). C. Müller (*op. cit.*, Vol. iii., p. 225,) also gives a lengthened quotation from Eupolemus, in which the lives of Moses, David, and Solomon are narrated, partly from the Biblical history and partly from the author's own imagination. Dr. Smith (*Class. Dict.*) thinks the supposition that Eupolemus was a Jew is contradicted by the manner in which Josephus speaks of him; and although it is most remarkable that a heathen author should follow the Biblical narratives so closely as Eupolemus does, the fact that Josephus associates him (*Cont. Ap.*, i. 23) with those writers whose errors in reference to the Jews he thinks pardonable because they were not able rightly to understand the Jewish books, shows that at least Josephus did not regard him as one of the Hebrew race.

[1] Diod. Sicul., *Biblioth. Hist.*, Ed. Wessel., Tom. i., p. 33. Arrian, in his narrative of the expeditions of Alexander, Lib. VII., c. 20 (Arrian's *Anabasis*, C. Müller, Paris, 1846, p. 194), says that Alexander heard of the Arabs worshipping only two gods, Uranus and Dionysus, and he thought that he was not unworthy to be the third object of their adoration. Schudt, *op. cit.*, p. 210, referring to this passage, imagines that Arrian confounded the Jews with the Arabs, the idea of the former worshipping Uranus having been drawn from their formulæ, such as Ps. cxv. 3, in which they said *their god was in the heaven.* But Arrian, who

DIODORUS says, in a fragment of his *History*,[1] Book XXXIV., preserved by Photius: "When King Antiochus[2] besieged Jerusalem, the Jews withstood him until all the means of life failed. Then they saw that they must treat with him for the cessation of hostilities, and they sent ambassadors, the greater part of whom were friends of the king. Hence they advised him to destroy the city by violence, and to exterminate the Jewish race, for they alone had no intercourse with other nations, and regarded all as foes; and they added that it was well known how their ancestors had been hunted out of Egypt by the gods as impious and execrable; how, being leprous,[3] they were, for the sake of purity, driven over the frontiers as so many accursed exiles, and how they at once seized the neighbouring places, formed the nation of the Jews, and bequeathed to them (their posterity) hatred against men.[4] Hence they have laws altogether different from others: they do not eat with another people at a common

is one of the clearest and most exact of the writers of the second century after Christ, would not have made such a mistake.

[1] *Ibid.*, Tom. ii., pp. 524, 525.

[2] This Antiochus, who succeeded Antiochus Epiphanes, and is called by Josephus (*Antiq.* xiii. 8) Εὐσεβής, the Pious, warred against John Hyrcanus, and at last besieged him in Jerusalem.

[3] It is to be observed that Diodorus only mentions this as a tradition repeated to King Antiochus by the ambassadors who were his own friends, and Diodorus refrains from giving any support to it.

[4] Συστησαμένους δὲ τὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος παραδόσιμον ποιῆσαι τὸ μῖσος τὸ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους.

table, and are in no way well disposed towards others. They also reminded him of the hatred of his ancestors to this people. When Antiochus Epiphanes, after conquering the Jews, went into the inner sanctuary of God,[1] into which it was not permitted to any but the High Priest to enter, he found there a stone statue[2] of a man with a long beard, holding a book in his hand, and sitting on an ass. He took this to be an image of Moses, who built the city, founded this nation, and ordained for these Jews misanthropic and illegal customs.[3] But he himself (Antiochus), desiring to make an assault upon this hostility to all other nations, endeavoured to do away with these laws which Moses had established. Therefore he offered to the statue of the Founder, and on the altar of God standing under the open heaven,[4] a huge pig, and sprinkled them with the blood, and, cooking the flesh, commanded that their holy books and those which contained the inhospitable laws, should be defaced and

[1] Τόν ἄδυτον τοῦ θεοῦ σηκόν.

[2] Strabo directly contradicts this. Comp. pp. 30, 31 of this Essay. Hecataeus says there was no image there. Comp. p. 44. Tacitus intimates that when Pompey entered the sanctuary, he found it empty. Comp. p. 134. He also testifies to the immateriality of the object of Jewish worship. Comp. p. 87; although by a singular inconsistency he echoes the story of the ass. Comp. p. 58. Dion Cassius, too, says "there never was any image in Jerusalem." Comp. p. 152.

[3] Πρὸς δὲ τούτοις νομοθετήσαντος τὰ μίσανθρωπα καὶ παράνομα ἔθη τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις.

[4] Τῷ ὑπαίθῳ βωμῷτοῦ θεοῦ.

blotted (with the broth), and that the fire, said by them to be ever burning, should be extinguished; and he forced the High Priests and other Jews to eat the pig's flesh. The friends of Antiochus, narrating these things, strongly incited him to destroy the whole city, or at any rate to abolish the laws (of the Jews), and to make them change their customs. But the king, who was of a magnanimous and mild disposition,[1] after imposing a tribute, removing the wall from Jerusalem, and taking hostages, absolved the Jews from the charge brought against them."

Photius adds to his eclogue from Book XL.,[2] which we have already quoted, a note condemnatory of Diodorus, for falseness in many things which he states, and for omitting things which he ought to have stated.[3]

Augustine says[4] of L. ANNAEUS SENECA (born probably B.C. 7), "This man censures, among other

[1] Josephus mentions the magnanimity of this king, and his sending offerings to Jerusalem for the Feast of Tabernacles, and contrasts it with the conduct of Antiochus Epiphanes, which has just been described.

[2] Migne's *Patrol. Curs.*, Tom. ciii., p. 1394.

[3] *Οὗτο μὲν κἀνταῦθά φησι περὶ τῶν παρὰ Ἰουδαίοις ἐθνῶν τε καὶ νομίμων, καὶ αὐτῶν ἐκείνων τῆς ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἀπαλλαγῆς καὶ τοῦ θειοῦ Μωϋσέως, ψευδολογῶν τὰ πλεῖστα, καὶ διερχόμενος πρὸς τοὺς ἐγέγχους πάλιν ὧν κατεψεύσατο τῆς ἀληθείας, ἀναχώρησιν ἑαυτῷ μεθοδευσάμενος, εἰς ἕτερον καὶ νῦν ἀναφέρει τῶν εἰρημένων τὴν παριστορίαν, ἐπάγει γὰρ. Περὶ μὲν τῶν Ἰουδαίων Ἑκαταῖος ὁ Μιλήσιος ταῦτα ἱστόρηκεν.*

[4] *De Civitate Dei*, Lib. VII., c. 11. Augustine refers to a treatise of Seneca "Against Superstitions," which is not extant.

things, even the sacred observances (*sacramenta*) of the Jews, and especially their Sabbaths, affirming that there is no use in such an institution. By taking out every seventh day they lose almost a seventh part of their own life in inactivity, and many matters which are urgent at the same time suffer from not being attended to."

Seneca, however, bears his testimony to the moral power of this "most outrageous nation," as he styles it; for he regards the universal adoption of their custom as an instance in which "the conquered have given laws to their conquerors."[1] And then, as if he had paid them too great a compliment, he adds, "Still they are in the dark as to the principles upon which their own ceremonial is founded, and the greater part of the people do that for which they can assign no reason."

MARTIAL, one of the wits of the first century in the Christian era, characterizes the Jew by his national mark,[2] hits at his anxiety to conceal it,[3] points a

[1] *De Civitate Dei*, Lib. VII., c. 36. *Quum interim usque eo scleratissimae gentis consuetudo convaluit ut per omnes jam terras recepta sit, victi victoribus leges dederunt. . . . . Illi tamen causas ritus sui noverunt, et major pars populi facit, quod cur faciat, ignorat.*

[2] *Epig.*, Lib. XII., 30. In Caeliam.

Nec recutitorum fugis inguina Judaeorum.

Vid. also *Petronius*, p. 52.

[3] *Ibid.*, 35. Ad Lecaniam.

Sed meus, ut de me taceam, Lecania, servus,
Judaeum nulla sub cute pondus habet.

contemptuous joke at the poor Jew-boy brought up by his mother to begging,[1] mentions "the fasting breath of the Sabbath-keepers"[2] in a long list of the most offensive odours that he could think of, and vents his scorn upon the *Transtiberinus ambulator*, the hawker on the other side of the Tiber, "who sells matches for broken glass."[3] Thomas Farnabus (note *in loc.*, Edit. Sedan, 1624) says: "*Peripateticus vagus, qui obambulans promercalia clamitabat:* Primstone matches for proken glasses!"

P. PAPINIUS STATIUS too, in describing the motley mass of people drawn together at a grand feast, with all sorts of entertainments, given by his patron Domitian to the Senate and the Roman people, mentions the roar that rose from the crowds of Syrians; and pictures, among the rest of those who came to see the shows, the poor fellows who sold common brimstone for bits of broken glass.[4]

[1] *Epig.*, Lib. XII., 57. Ad Sparsum.

Nec turba cessat enthcata Bellonae,
Nec fasciato naufragus loquax trunco,
A matre doctus nec rogare Judaeus,
Nec sulfuratae lippus institor mercis.

[2] *Epig.*, Lib. IV., 4, *jejunia Sabbatariorium.*

[3] *Epig.*, Lib. I., 42, *Qui pallentia sulfurata fractis*
Permutat vitreis.

[4] *Silv.*, Lib. I., 6.

Illic agmina confremunt Syrorum,
Hic plebs scenica, quaeque comminutis
Permutant vitreis gregale sulfur.

It is supposed that in these allusions to the ambulant sellers of brimstone, the Jews were at least included, though there is really no more reason to think of them here than of other poor dealers in odd things. It is remarkable, however, that glass manufactories have existed in Rome, on the further side of the Tiber, from very ancient times to the present day, and one of them is now the property of a Jew.

It has also been thought by some critics that Martial has the Jew in his eye when he is rallying Gellia on the ignominious outcome of her high talk about marriage.

"While you tell us," he says, "about your grandfather's fathers and your great-grandfather's grandfathers, and their grand names, and think our equestrian rank a mean estate for you, and vow you can never marry any one who does not wear the Senator's broad border, Gellia, you go and wed a man in the street, Gellia."[1]

[1] *Epig.*, Lib. V., 17.

Dum proavos, atavosque refers, et nomina magna,
Dum tibi noster eques sordida conditio est:
Dum te posse negas nisi lato, Gellia, clavo
Nubere; nupsisti, Gellia, Cistifero.

Cistiferus, however, is too mild a term for Martial to have used, if he had meant a Jew; and although Juvenal afterwards pictures the Jews with their baskets begging food, the reference here may be merely to beggars generally, or to the poor class of odd-job men, that carried burdens about the city. Rev. E. Lewis, M.A., takes this latter view in his translation, and renders *Cistifero* a "porter."

So, again, PERSIUS (born A.D. 34), a poet of vastly greater refinement, though belonging to the same period, from whose fine Satire VI. we are tempted to give a full extract. The argument is, that whatever are the varied pursuits of different minds, he who is

The Latin scholar will perceive an abusive allusion to the Jew in the lines Lib. VII., 82 :

Dum ludit media populo spectante palaestra,
Delapsa est misero fibula ; Verpus erat.

And again in Lib. XI., 94, this most irreverent jester amuses himself by coining a curious Latin name for the object of Jewish adoration.

Addressing a Jewish poet whom he looks upon as a rival, Martial thus vents his spleen: "Be as envious as you like, and run down my effusions wherever you choose, it makes no difference to me; you know what you are about, you Jew-poet. Nay, tear my verses to pieces and steal them too. I don't care a dump for that; it's what a Jew-poet would do. But this does torment me, that a Jew-poet like you, born in Solyma itself, should steal the affections that belong to me.—Oh! you deny this, and you swear by the Temples of the Thunderer! I don't believe you ; swear, Mr. Circumcised, by Anchialus."

Various interpretations have been given of this term Anchialus, though they all come very much to the same thing. Salmasius, *Comment. de Ling. Hellen.* Quaest. 5, reads *Anchiolam*, and explains it by חי עלם, "He who liveth for ever."

Thomas Farnabus, in his *Notes to Martial*, Sedani, 1624, compares *Anchiolus* with the complete form of the Jewish oath, ואם חי יהוה, "And if the Lord liveth," as Jerem. v. 2. And the expression has been referred to the opening words of the Jewish prayer, אתה חי עלם, "Thou who livest for ever."

A note on the passage in the Venice edition (*Martialis cum duobus comment.*) 1498, p. 127, states that Anchialus was the divinity of Sardanapalus, the founder of the city of Anchiala, on the coast of Cilicia ; and it describes a stone statue of him in that city, with the fingers of the right hand joined together, and bearing an in-

under the influence of any overwhelming passion cannot be accounted a free agent. A slave, like Dama, is a slave still, if governed by passion, though liberated by his master; like a dog that has broken his chain, but drags it after him. Thus Persius challenges his reader:—

"Say, is it yours, by wisdom's steady rays,
To walk secure through life's entangled maze?
Yours to discern the specious from the true,
And where the gilt conceals the brass from view?
Speak, can you mark, with some appropriate sign,
What to pursue, and what, in turn, decline?
Does moderation all your wishes guide,
And temperance at your cheerful board preside?
Do friends your love experience? are your stores
Now dealt with closed and now with open doors,
As fit occasion calls?
Can you restrain
The eager appetite of sordid gain,
Nor feel, when in the mire a doit you note,
Mercurial spittle gurgle in your throat?
If you can say, and truly, 'THESE ARE MINE,'
And 'THIS I CAN'—suffice it, I decline
All further question; you are wise and free,
No less by Jove's than by the law's decree.

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scription in Assyrian characters, which sets forth that he built that and Tarsus in one day, and inviting the reader to eat, drink, and be merry, because there is no pleasure after death.

Vitringa; *de Synag. Vet.*, Leucopetrae, 1726, p. 228, remarks that the most solemn Jewish oath, אני חי עולם, "I am He that liveth for ever," represented by the term *Anchialus*, was not unknown to the Gentiles, and it was a fact that the Jews made frequent use of oaths in common conversation. The Essenes laboured to reform this abuse, and altogether abstained from swearing.

But if, good Marcus, you who form'd so late
One of our batch, of our enslaved estate,
Beneath a specious outside, still retain
The foul contagion of your ancient strain;
If the sly fox still burrow in some part,
Some secret corner of your tainted heart,
I straight retract the freedom which I gave,
And hold your Dama still, and still a slave!
And is he,
This master of himself, this truly free,
Who marks the dazzling lure ambition spreads,
And headlong follows where the meteor leads?
'Watch the nice hour, and on the scrambling tribes
Pour, without stint, your mercenary bribes,
Vetches and pulse; that, many a year gone by,
Greybeards, as basking in the sun they lie,
May boast how much your floral games surpass'd,
In cost and splendour, those they witness'd last!
A glorious motive! and on Herod's day,
When every room is deck'd in meet array,
And lamps along the greasy windows spread,
Profuse of flowers, gross, oily vapours shed;
When the vast tunny's tail in pickle swims,
And the crude must foams o'er the pitcher's brims;
You mutter secret prayers, by fear devised,
And dread the Sabbaths of the circumcised!" [1]

[1] *Metrical Version* by the late Wm. Gifford, Esq. "The great favour shown by Julius Caesar to the Herods gave enormous influence to this royal family, so much so that Herod's birth-day was celebrated with all the solemnities of a Sabbath. Doorposts and fronts of houses were covered with branches and flowers, amongst which violets were conspicuous, and lighted lamps were suspended at a very early hour from the windows, as well as from the trees near the house. The sordid poverty of the Jews is as much the butt of ridicule here as their superstition. The lamps are greasy, the fish of the coarsest kind; and the worst part only, the tail, is cooked, in the commonest earthenware."—*Note by the Rev. Evan Lewis, M.A.*

NICOLAUS DAMASCENUS, an eloquent orator and a historian, who lived in the time of Augustus, and not only pleaded the cause of the Jews in Asia Minor, by Herod's instructions, with Agrippa, but more than once pleaded for Herod himself before the Roman Court, is quoted by Eusebius as follows:[1] "Abram was king of Damascus, and he came thither as a stranger with an army from that part of the country which is situated above Babylon of the Chaldeans; but after a short time he again emigrated from this region with his people, and transferred his habitation to the land which was then called Cananaea, but now Judaea, together with all the multitude which had increased with him, of whose history I shall give an account in another book. The name of Abram is well known even to this day in Damascus, and a village is pointed out which is still called the House of Abram."

M. FABIUS QUINTILIANUS (born about A.D. 40), having made the general remark[2] that "ignominy follows some men after death," proceeds to say, by way of illustration, that "it is a disgrace to the founders of cities to have drawn together any race of people hurtful to others, such as the chief author of the Jewish superstition, and the hateful laws of the Gracchi."

[1] *Praep. Evang.*, 9.

[2] *De Inst. Orator*, Lib. III., c. 7.

Some expositors of Quintilian have imagined that he used the phrase "*primus Judaicae superstitionis auctor*" in reference to Jesus Christ. But the fact that Justin was intimate with the family of the Christian Consul Clemens, and even educated his sons, makes it next to impossible that he could have spoken of Christ in this way; while, on the other hand, the patronage he received from Domitian, and the salary paid him out of the Imperial exchequer under Vespasian, at a time when the Jews were at a discount, and the Emperor was being glorified as their conqueror, renders it quite probable that Quintilian would gladly take an opportunity of showing his political bias against them.

M. ANNAEUS LUCANUS (died A.D. 65), who wrote a history in verse of the civil wars between Pompey and Julius Caesar, probably intended to mark the invisibility of the God whom the Jews worship, when he made Pompey say,[1] "The Cappadocians and Judaea (the land) of the uncertain God, and also the soft Sophene, pay homage to my standards."

[1] *Pharsal.*, Lib. II., l. 592-3.

Cappadoces mea signa timent, et
Incerti Judaea Dei, mollisque Sophene.

The term *incertus* is perhaps used in allusion to the fact that Pompey found no image of any deity in the Temple. Possibly the Greeks had this same god in their minds when they erected the monument, of which Paul speaks, in Athens (*Acts* xvii. 23).

PLUTARCH, contemporary with the Emperor Nero, gives the following among the discussions between his philosophers in one of their convivial meetings:[1] "After these observations had been made, and some were preparing to take the opposite side, Callistratus, interrupting them, asked what they thought of the saying about the Jews, that they abstain from the flesh which it is most proper to eat.[2] 'It appears to me,' said Polycrates, 'that it is wonderfully well said. But I very much doubt whether it is on account of the honour and reverence in which they hold swine, or whether it is not out of abomination, that they refrain from eating them; for the things they say about it themselves are like fables; unless, perhaps, they have some good reasons which they do not disclose.' 'I think,' said Callistratus, 'that the creature is held in a certain honour by the men; and although it is

[1] *Moralia*, Sympos. Lib. IV., Quaest 5: ed. G. Xyland.

[2] The fact that the Jews would not kill a pig is noted in a *bon-mot* of Augustus. When he heard that Herod had put his own son to death, he said "it was better to be Herod's pig than his son." Schudt, who mentions this, *op. cit.*, p. 243, also quotes the German saying about a man who is not wanted as a visitor: "He is as welcome as a pig in a Jew's house," and he says, p. 242, that among others who carved the figures of sows with young ones on gates and at the entrances of sacred buildings, to keep the Jews away, the Emperor Ælius Hadrian had a marble sow placed at the gate of Jerusalem, and a stone monument of the same kind was to be seen on the top of the wall of the parish church in Wittemberg.

an ugly, ill-favoured thing, I do not see that it is any more repulsive than the beetle, the griffin, the crocodile, or the cat, which are worshipped, some in one place and some in another, by Egyptian priests, as most holy. But some say they abstain from and reverence the pig because he was the first to cut up the earth in furrows with his snout, and so to show the form of the ploughshare, the word which signifies *pig* being thence applied as the name also of the plough.[1] The Egyptians, however, who cultivate the soft lowlands do not generally need the plough; for as the Nile recedes after having inundated the fields, they follow it, and drive pigs on to the soil, and follow with the seed. It is not so surprising that there are people who abstain from pig's flesh on this account, since among savage races other animals are held in greater honour for worse reasons, or even for absurd ones." The speaker then instances the mole deified by the Egyptians because it is blind, and darkness is more ancient than light, and because it brings forth mice in the fifth generation at the new moon, and its liver decreases as the moon wanes; and the lion is dedicated to the sun because it is the only four-footed beast with crooked claws whose young are not blind, because it sleeps very lightly, its eyes glistening when it is

[1] ὗνις, which signifies both *pig* and *plough*.

asleep. "And," he continues, "they make water-spouts to fountains in the form of lions' heads, because the Nile pours a fresh flood upon the fields when the sun passes through the sign of Leo. They say that the black stork which they call *Ibis*, when it leaves the shell, weighs two drachms, or as much as the heart of a new-born infant, and if its two legs and its beak are stretched out it forms an equilateral triangle. Then the Pythagoreans worship the white cock, and abstain from certain fish, especially the barbel and the nettle-fish. The followers of Zoroaster worshipped above all things on earth the hedgehog, and hated water-mice, and said that he would render the most acceptable service to the gods, and be most happy himself, who should kill most of them. This makes me think that if the Jews had abominated swine they would have killed them as the Magi killed mice; but they were forbidden to do so, or to eat the flesh; and it is probable that, as they worshipped the ass,[1] because in ancient times, when there was a great drought, it showed them the way to a fountain, so they reverenced the pig[2] because it showed them

[1] Comp. Note 2, p. 60.

[2] Agathocles, according to Athenaeus (*Deipnos*, Lib. IX., ch. 18, ed. Schweighauser, Strasburg, 1803, Vol. ii., p. 388), states that the pig was a sacred animal with the Cretans, and as the worship of animals was a usual thing with many idolatrous nations, there is no reason to call this statement in question, but the

how to till and sow the land. It is true there are those who say that they similarly abstain from the hare, detesting it as impure and polluted." "That is not correct," answers Lamprias, "for they abstain from eating hare on account of its similarity to the ass, which they revere mysteriously and significantly, the colour in both being of the same kind, and both having long, large ears, and large, bright eyes; but it appears that the Jews abominate swine's flesh because barbarians especially abhor

idea that the Jews held swine in sacred reverence can only have arisen from the circumstance that they did not slay them. The objection to kill swine was a strange thing to the minds of the Romans, as it was their custom to sacrifice them freely. Vid. Virgil, *Æneid*, viii., ll. 81—110: "But lo! a prodigy sudden and wondrous to the eyes, a milk-white sow of the same colour as her white young, lay along the wood, and is seen on the verdant bank, which to thee, O sovereign Juno, even to thee pious Æneas devotes as an offering and presents before thy altar with her litter." And again, ll. 639—641, "Jove's princes in their armour stood, with goblets in their hands, and having sacrificed a sow, struck a league."

The custom was probably handed down by the Etruscans, who sacrificed swine at the marriages of kings and great men. Vid. Varro, called the most learned of the Romans, born B.C. 116, *De Re Rustica*, Lib. II., c. 4, Paris, 1843: "The Greeks call the pig ὗς; they formerly called it θυς, from the term θύειν, to sacrifice, because it was with these creatures that the custom of sacrificing animals seems to have begun. This usage may be traced to the mysteries of Ceres, in which swine were offered up, in the ceremonies of a treaty of peace, as also at the marriages of their ancient kings and great men of Etruria. The first animal offered up by a bridegroom was a pig. The ancient Latins and Greeks of Italy appear to have followed this usage," &c. This passage is quoted

leprosy and other diseases of the skin, which they think the flesh of this animal is apt to produce."

Lamprias then goes on to give physiological reasons for this belief, such as the uncleanly habits of the pig, and the leprous appearance of certain parts of its body, indicating internal disease, which must necessarily impart a bad quality to the flesh, "for there is not another beast that takes such pleasure in dirt, &c. &c. And furthermore it is said that the eyes of swine are so bent and fixed downward, that they can see nothing above, and cannot so much as look up to the sky unless they are thrown on their backs with their feet upward, so that the balls of their eyes are turned quite contrary to their natural direction; and although as a general rule this creature is always crying or grunting, yet, if the feet are turned upward, as before said, it will be perfectly silent with amazement at seeing the face of heaven, which it is not accustomed to do; and so

by G. J. Vossius, *De Theol. Gentili*, Lib. II., 35, ed. Amst. 1675, p. 1421. But most of the more eastern nations, such as the Arabians, Phoenicians, Ethiopians, Indians, seem to have entertained the same aversion as the Jews; and Pausanias, who flourished in the latter half of the second century A.D., in his *Periegesis*, Lib. VII., edit. G. Xyland, Hanov., 1613, p. 430, says of the Galatians inhabiting Pesinus, where there was a very celebrated temple of the goddess Rhea or Cybele, that "they abstained from swine as impure animals." It may be added, by the way, that this author (Lib. V., § 2, p. 294) contrasts the *byssus* in Eleia with that of the Hebrews.

it is thought that for fear of some greater harm it ceases to make a noise. Now,—if we may introduce into our discourse an instance of poetic fables, —it is said that fair Adonis was killed by a wild boar, and Adonis is thought to be no other than Bacchus himself, which opinion derives support from many identical ceremonial and sacrificial rites in the worship offered to each god; also some believe that Adonis was the favourite loved by Bacchus." The speaker having prolonged this digression, and quoted a verse from the poet Phanocles, the main subject is resumed by Symmachus, who expresses his astonishment that Lamprias should mix up the tutelar god of his country with the secret ceremonies of the Hebrews. "Let Lamprias alone," interposes Meragenes; "I am an Athenian, and I tell you decidedly that he (the Hebrew God) and Bacchus are both one. But most of the arguments and conjectures which prove this are of such a kind that they must not be uttered or taught except to those who are professed members of the confraternity of Bacchus in our country; but what we are not forbidden to speak among friends, and especially at our convivial table when we are enjoying the gifts of this god, if it pleases the company I am ready to communicate." As they all wished and requested him to do so, he continued: "In the first place, the season of their principal feast and their entire mode

of conducting it is perfectly suited to Bacchus;[1] for what they call their fast they celebrate in the very midst of the vintage, at which time they bring out tables and spread them with all kinds of fruit, and sit under their tents or booths made chiefly of vine branches and ivy twisted together. The day before this they call the Feast of Tabernacles; a few days after they celebrate another feast, not under a fig-tree, but openly, and directly in the name of Bacchus. There is a third solemnity among them named Kratephoria (Κρατηφορία), or the carrying of vine-branches, and Thyrsophoria (Θυρσοφορία), on which latter they carry javelins dressed with ivy, and so enter their temple; but what they do within it we know not. Probably they there perform certain Bacchanalian rites, for

[1] Peter Cunaeus (*De Republica Hebraeorum*, Ed. Lyons, p. 273) complains bitterly that Plutarch should have tried to fix on the Jews the stigma of Bacchus worship, which Marcus Cato condemned in the strongest terms as the worst evil that ever afflicted the Roman State.

Tacitus (comp. p. 88) points out the incongruity between the rites of Bacchus and those of the Jews. The rejoicings at the Feasts of Tabernacles and Purim may have given rise to the false impression entertained by Plutarch. But the order given by Augustus to the Procurators in Asia, that the Jews only should be permitted to make assemblies in their synagogues, for that "these were not Bacchanalian assemblies, or meetings of seditious persons held for the purpose of disturbing peace, but schools of justice and temperance, in which the pursuit of virtue flourished" (Philo, *op. cit.*, p. 1035) proves that, even when the Jews did rejoice, they were not disorderly.

they use little trumpets to invoke their God, such as the Argives have in their Bacchanalia. Then others follow, playing upon harps and lutes, and these they call in their language *Levites*, a term derived from Λυσιος, Lysius, Bacchus, or rather from Evius (Εὔιος). It seems to me that their festivals of the Sabbaths are not altogether opposed to Bacchus. There are many who to this day call the priests of Bacchus Sabbi,[1] and they make use of this term when they perform their orgies and mysteries to the god. It is also used by Demosthenes, and by Menander; and it would not be inappropriate if this term (Sabbath) should be applied to the turbulent and intemperate assemblies of the priests of Bacchus, for even the Jews themselves bear witness that in the solemnization of their Sabbath they invite one another to eat and drink plenteously, unless anything of a serious nature prevents, and then they usually drink their wine neat.[2]

[1] "The Chaldeans call the god (Dionysus or Bacchus) Iao in the Phoenician tongue (instead of the intelligible light), and he is often called Sabaoth, signifying that he is above the seven poles, that is, the Demiurgus."—Lydus, *de Mensibus*, MS. 83, Tay. J. P. Cory, *op. cit.*, p. 57. This quotation is from Mr. Taylor's Collection of Chaldean Oracles, *Class. Journ.*, No. 22. Joannes Laurentius, or Lydus, was born at Philadelphia, in the antient Lydia, A.D. 490. His Περὶ μηνῶν is an historical commentary on the Roman Calendar, and forms one of three great works which he wrote in his old age. Vid. Dr. Smith's *Classical Dict.*, ad voc.

[2] Suetonius, Justin, and Rutilius had very different impressions from this with regard to the Jewish Sabbath. Comp. pp. 89, 103, 106.

"It may be said that these arguments are mere conjectures, but the practices of the priesthood afford a strong proof that the analogy holds good; for, in the first place, when their high-priest shows himself publicly in the festivals he walks first with a mitre on his head, clad in a garment of stag-skin richly embroidered with gold, and a long robe down to his feet, which are hidden in buskins; besides which, a number of little bells hang about the border and skirt of his robe, tinkling as he walks, just as they use bells in our nocturnal ceremonies;[1] 'and they call the brazen vessels nurses of God; and a Thyrsus (a staff ornamented with vine leaves and ivy twined together) and timbrels are carried aloft before him. All which things are appropriate to no other god but Bacchus. Moreover, they never use honey in any of their sacred ceremonies, for it is thought that it spoils wine if mingled with it; and yet this was the liquid which they used in ancient times as a libation, and they drank of it until they were drunk. Before the vine was known, and even to these days, those barbarous nations who abstain from wine use a certain drink made of honey, correcting its excessive sweetness with roots of a sharp and rough flavour. The Greeks present these *Nephalia* and *Melisponda* (sober offerings com-

[1] Ed. F. Dübner, Paris, 1841, τὰ νυκτέλια. Xyland gives τὰ νῦν τελεῖα.

pounded with honey), as if the natural property of honey was an antidote to wine. It is no feeble argument for the identity of Bacchus with the God worshipped by the Jews, that among the many punishments employed among them, the most shameful and ignominious is to be forbidden to drink wine so long as the judge, who has the power of imposing the penalty, thinks proper to appoint, and those who are thus punished . . ." (The rest of this Book has been lost.)

In the *Apophthegmata*,[1] however, Plutarch says, "When Antiochus was besieging Jerusalem, the Jews asked him to allow them a respite of seven days to celebrate their principal feast; and he not only granted their request, but also went up to the gates in state, taking with him bulls with gilded horns, and a large quantity of spice for incense, and having delivered to the priests their own victim, returned to his camp. The Jews being astonished at this, surrendered immediately after the festive days expired."

PETRONIUS ARBITER, date uncertain, but not later than Hadrian, condenses into a few lines allusions to the supposed worship of the pig by the Jews, on the one hand, and their habit of lifting their eyes heavenward in prayer, on the other, as also to the rigour with which they enforced the law of circumcision,

[1] Ed. Xyland, p. 184.

and the effect of this bigoted attachment to a mere outward rite in driving some of their own race, who had not been properly initiated into their community, to forsake both their people and their religion.[1]

TACITUS (born about A.D. 54) appears, in Book V. of his *History*, to have been struck with the contrast between the Roman and the Jewish *sacra*. He commits the same error as Apion in stating that an ass was consecrated in the temple at Jerusalem, and,

[1] Petronii Arbitri *Satirarum Reliquiae*. F. Buechler, Berlin, 1842, p. 224.

Judaeus licet et porcinum numen adoret,
et caeli summas advocet auriculas,
ni tamen et ferro succiderit inguinis oram,
et nisi nodatum solverit arte caput,
exemptus populo, Graiam migrabit ad urbem,
et non jejuna Sabbata lege premet,
una est nobilitas argumentum que coloris,
ingenui timidas non habuisse manus.

Peter Cunaeus, *op. cit.*, p. 269, explains the Gentile idea of the Jew worshipping the pig, by saying that the Jews regarded this animal as among unlucky things and productive of all evil, and they never pronounced the name, but instead of uttering it used a Hebrew word signifying "another thing."

Some commentators have suggested, instead of *caeli*, the reading *cilli*, a word coined from κιλλος, an ass, and have imagined a reference here to the fable of the ass-worship. M. Heguin de Guerle, in his French translation of Petronius, understands it so. But *summas auriculas*, while quite consistent with *caeli*, is hardly applicable to *cilli*, though it is possible that Petronius may have intended a play upon the word. The habit, however, of the Jew in addressing his prayers towards the Unseen above, is sufficient to account for the phrase. Vitringa, *De Synag. Vet.*, p. 228, understands the expression as referring to this custom of praying *sub dio absque tecto.*

like Apion, is guilty of inconsistency with himself. He remarks, however, that the ox which the Jews slew was worshipped in Egypt as the god Apis, thus confirming the Egyptians in their undesigned attestation to the steadfastness of the Jews in their own religious views, and to their courageous disregard of the prejudices even of their Egyptian masters. He also calls attention to their frequent fasts, their use of leaven, their seventh day, &c.; and he gives the following account of the origin of the Jews:—

Ch. 2. "It is said that the Jews, having escaped from the island of Crete at the time when Saturn was driven from his throne by the violence of Jupiter, settled in the extreme parts of Libya. A memorial of this fact is supposed to be found in their name. It is argued that Ida is a well-known mountain in Crete; that the inhabitants of the country around it were Idaeans; and that, by way of adapting their name to the language of the barbarians, they were called *Iudaeans*. Some say that in the reign of Isis, the population, overflowing throughout Egypt, was relieved by emigration into the neighbouring countries, under the conduct of Hierosolymus and Juda. Many consider them to be the progeny of the Æthiopians, who were impelled by fear, and by the hatred manifested against them, to change their settlements in the reign of King Cepheus; while it is sometimes

asserted that they were a heterogeneous band from Assyria, a race without lands, who made themselves masters of a portion of Egypt, and subsequently occupied cities of their own and Hebrew territories, and the country bordering on Syria. Others trace the origin of the Jews to the Solymi, a nation celebrated in the poetry of Homer, who called the city which they built Hierosolyma, from their own name.

Ch. 3. "A large number of authors agree in the statement that a pestilential disease, which disfigured the body in a loathsome manner, having shown itself all over Egypt, Bocchoris, the king, repaired to the oracle of Jupiter-Hammon in quest of a remedy, and that he was directed to purify his kingdom, and carry away that race of men to other lands, as being odious to the gods; that a mass of people, who had been accordingly searched out and collected together, were left to their fate in an open desert, and that when the rest had lost all heart, and stood bathed in tears, Moses, one of the exiles, advised them not to expect any aid from gods or men, as they were forsaken of both, but to trust themselves to him as a Heaven-commissioned leader, who had been the first to aid them in shaking off the troubles they had already encountered. They assented, and commenced a venturous journey, not knowing whither they went. But nothing distressed

them so much as want of water: and now they lay stretched upon the plains, ready to perish, when a herd of wild asses,[1] returning from pasture, went up

[1] Comp. also Diod. (p. 60), and Plutarch (p. 72).

Ludwig Geiger, in his Essay on *The Jews and Judaism according to the ancient Authors*, (*Juden u. Judenthum nach d. Auffassung d. Schriftsteller d. Alterthums.* Vid. *Illustrirte Monatshefte fürdie gesammten Interessen des Judenthums*, Oct., 1865,) in connexion with this anecdote of Tacitus, refers to Gen. xxxvi. 24 (Eng. version): "These are the children of Zibeon; both Ajah, and Anah: this was that Anah that found the mules in the wilderness as he fed the asses of Zibeon his father." Interpreting הַיְמִם, with Gesenius, as meaning "warm springs," (Lee prefers simply "waters," and Benisch merely puts the original into English letters "Yemim," but Bochart says "giants,") he says: "We need only put Moses for Anah, and the accounts agree in their essential contents." Geiger thinks that Tacitus may have had some confused recollection of this fact, and framed his narrative upon it. He afterwards notices the theory of Duncker (*Gesch. d. Altherth.*, I. 199), that "in Egypt the ass was the beast of the evil god Typhon, and Typhon was regarded specially as a god of the Hyksos and of those Syrian and Arabic races who were related to them . . .; hence the chief of the unclean ones, the servant of Typhon (*i.e.* Moses) would ride on the beast of the god." Geiger remarks that in this way an explanation might also be found for the statement of Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, c. 3, that Typhon, withdrawing from the battle, fled for seven days on an ass, and begot Hierosolyma and Judæus (*sic!*), and that in order to honour Typhon, who had thus become the ancestor of the Jews, his grateful children deified the beast which, it is true, only stood in indirect relation to the miracle of their father.

Geiger then goes on to say that, "though these conjectures may serve to throw some measure of light upon the statements of such eminent authors as Tacitus and Plutarch, the statements themselves can only be regarded as tales produced from the imagination of the writers, who did not offer any opposition to the fable of the ass-worship among the Jews, which was rooted in the popular belief, and did not shake its truth, but took trouble to find a founda-

a rock shaded by a grove. Moses followed them, and, forming a conjecture from the herbage that grew upon the ground, opened copious springs of water. This was a relief; and, pursuing their journey for six days without intermission, on the seventh, having expelled the natives, they took possession of a country, where a city and a temple were dedicated."

Ch. 4. "To secure the allegiance of the people in time to come, Moses gave them a new form of worship, opposed to all others in use among men;[1]

tion for these things which were strange and wonderful even to them." In endeavouring to account for the origin of this heathen tradition, some ancient Jewish authors have suggested one biblical fact and some another, such as the worship of the golden calf, the miraculous speech of Balaam's ass, the prophecy, Zech. ix. 9, in the exposition of which the Rabbis used to expatiate in glowing colours upon the beauty of the ass that would bear Messiah into Jerusalem, &c., &c.; and it has been thought that these and other incidents in connexion with Jewish history may have been caught up, as by hearsay, and twisted into the figment which Diodorus, Plutarch, and even Tacitus have handed down to us.

[1] Schudt (*op. cit.*, p. 152,) quotes the well-known passage in the Preface to the *Lives of Distinguished Commanders*, by Cornelius Nepos, pointing out several most important points in which the customs of the Greeks were diametrically opposed to those of the Romans; and he asks, if the Greeks and Romans thus differed from each other, and the Egyptians from them both, why are the Jews to be censured for having their national peculiarities also? It is not needful here to enter upon the inquiry as to the genuineness or otherwise of the clause *nullam vidua quae non ad scenam est mercede conducta*, as this does not affect the principle suggested by Schudt.

and consequently, whatever the Romans held sacred the Jews treat as profane, and what we deem unlawful they permit. They consecrated in their temple a figure of the animal through whose guidance they had slaked their thirst, and were enabled to terminate their wanderings, with the sacrifice of a lamb, as if in contempt of Jupiter Hammon. They also sacrifice the ox, worshipped by the Egyptians as the god Apis. They abstain from the flesh of swine in memory of the disgrace and ruin formerly brought upon them by a disease of the skin to which that animal is subject. A long famine, with which in former times they were afflicted, is still commemorated by frequent fastings; and the Jewish bread, made without leaven, is a standing evidence of their seizure of corn. They say that they instituted a rest on the seventh day, because that day brought them rest from their toils; but afterwards, charmed with the pleasures of idleness, they devoted the seventh year also to sloth. Others allege that this is an honour rendered to Saturn, either because the principles of their religious system were handed down by the Idaeans, who, we are informed, were expelled from their country with Saturn, and became the founders of the nation; or else because, of the seven stars by which men are governed, the star of Saturn moves in the highest orbit, and exercises the greatest influence; and most of the heavenly

bodies complete their effect and course by the number seven.

Ch. 5. "These rites and ceremonies, however introduced, have the support of antiquity; but other institutions have prevailed among them which are tainted with low cunning. For the refuse of other nations, having renounced the religion of their own country, were in the habit of bringing gifts and offerings to Jerusalem; hence the wealth and growth of Jewish power. And, whilst among themselves they keep inviolate faith, and are always prompt in showing compassion to one another, they cherish bitter enmity against all others, eating and lodging with one another only, and though a people most prone to sensuality, having no intercourse with women of other nations. Among themselves no restraints are imposed; and in order that they may be known by a distinctive mark, they have established the practice of circumcision. All who embrace their faith submit to the same operation; and the first thing instilled into the proselytes is to despise their own gods, to cast off their country, and to set at nought parents, children, and brothers. They show concern, however, for the increase of their population. For it is forbidden to put any of their brethren to death; and the souls of such as die in battle, or by the hand of the executioner, are thought to be immortal; hence their desire of

having children and their contempt of death. They follow the Egyptian custom, and burn the bodies of the dead rather than bury them; and they also agree with that people in their attention to the departed, as well as in their belief with regard to the infernal regions, but are opposed to them in their notions about things celestial. The Egyptians worship various animals and images; the Jews acknowledge one God only, and conceive of Him by the mind alone. They condemn as impious all who with perishable materials form images in the human shape to represent God; that Being, they say, is above all, and everlasting, neither susceptible of change nor subject to decay. Consequently they allow no resemblance of Him in their cities, much less in their temples. They do not give such honour as this to their kings, or to the Caesars. But because their priests performed in concert with the pipe and timbrels, and were crowned with ivy, and a golden vine was found in the temple, some have supposed that Bacchus, the conqueror of the East, was the object of their adoration; but the Jewish institutions have no conformity whatever to the rites of Bacchus, for Bacchus ordained festive and jocund rites, whereas the usages of the Jews are absurd and contemptible."

In his *Annals* (Book XV., 44), after speaking of "the persons commonly called Christians," Tacitus

represents Judæa as the source of Christianity, and tells us that "Christus, the founder of the name, was punished with death by the Procurator Pontius Pilate, in the reign of Tiberius. And the deadly superstition having been repressed, broke out again, not only through Judaea, which was the source of the evil, but through Rome, where all things, from all quarters, horrible and shameful, flow together and are popular."

SUETONIUS, born a few years after the death of Nero, which took place A.D. 68, gives some scattered notices of the Jews in his *Lives of the Emperors*.

After describing how the foreign races in Rome, one after the other, each in its own fashion, gave forth their lamentations around the grave of Julius Caesar (*C. J. Caesar*, ch. 84), he says: "And especially the Jews, who visited the tomb night after night." [1]

[1] J. H. Hottinger, in his treatise on Hebrew Monuments (*Cippi Hebraici*, Heidelberg, 1662, p. 27,) speaks of the visitation of sepulchres as an ancient custom among the Jews, and states that there were two kinds of mourning in connexion with death: the one domestic, at the house, when the deceased was a relation or a friend; and the other religious, at the burial-places of prophets or doctors (teachers), when prayers were offered with the face towards the Holy City, commending the dead man to God, and wishing him a happy resurrection. But Dr. Pocock, in the *Notae Miscellaneae* to his *Porta Mosis*, p. 170, quotes the opinion of Abarbanel, that as wood once burnt is more susceptible to fire than it was before, so the bodies that have been inhabited by souls will be so much the more apt to receive life the second time,

As an illustration of the abstemiousness of Octavian, he transcribes the following from one of the Emperor's letters (*Life of Octavian*, ch. 76): "Not even a Jew, my dear Tiberius, fasts on his Sabbaths[1] as strictly as I have done to-day. While in my bath, after the first hour of the night, I ate a couple of berries before my anointing began." In ch. 93, however, he exhibits Augustus in another light: "While he paid the most reverential respect to those foreign religious rites which were supported by ancient prescription, he treated all others with perfect scorn. For after his initiation in Athens, when he was trying a question in Rome concerning the privileges of the priests of the Attican Ceres,

and so also the body of the just man, on account of the impression left in it by the Divine Spirit, of which it was once the habitation, will undoubtedly be more prepared to receive the spirit than it was before. "Hence he says it came to pass," Pocock continues, referring to the Rabbi, "that according to their usage, those who were oppressed with any difficulty, prostrated themselves before God at the sepulchres of the pious, because of the impression which had been left in those bones by the Divine Spirit, whose habitation they had been; wherefore they were more fit than other [places] to be of assistance towards obtaining the divine influence. Martin Geier, *De Ebraeorum Luctu Lugentiumque Ritibus*, Frankfort-on-Maine, 1683, c. vi., § 26, referring to John xi. 3, compares this Jewish custom to that of the Turkish women, who visit the sepulchres of their friends which are outside the city, before sunrise, and sprinkle them with flowers and with water.

[1] Both Suetonius and Justin are in error when they represent the Jews as fasting on the Sabbath, and they probably confounded this day with the ordinary weekly fast of the Friday preparatory to the Sabbath.

and certain of the more secret rites were brought before him in evidence, he dismissed his council, and cleared the court, and heard the case alone; whereas when making his progress in Egypt, he not only refused to go an inch out of his way to see Apis, but he praised his grandson Caius because, when passing through Judaea, he did not go to worship in Jerusalem."

JUVENAL, whose works bring us at least to A.D. 100, records the fact that in his days the place where Numa used to meet his mistress,[1] and where

[1] *Sat.* III., 13, ff.

Hic ubi nocturnae Numa constituebat amicae,
Nunc sacri fontis nemus et delubra locantur
Judaeis: quorum Cophinus foenumque suppellex.
Omnis enim populo mercedem pendere jussa est.
Arbor, et ejectis mendicat sylva Camoenis.

Juvenal must have been writing even after A.D. 100, because he mentions the banishment of Marcus Priscus, who was condemned in that year, Sat. I., 49: *Exul ab octava Marius bibit, et fruitur Dis iratis*—Marius, the exile, drinks from the eighth hour, and enjoys the anger of the gods.

"The grove where Numa is said to have met his mistress and teacher Ægeria was close to the Porta Capena (Plutarch, *Num.* c. 13). It had a fountain in it (Liv. I., 21). Numa was said to have built a shrine there, and to have dedicated the whole to the Camoenae, of whom Ægeria was one. The wood and fountain of Ægeria, in the valley of Aricia, about fifteen miles from Rome, are connected with a different legend, and must not be confounded with those under the walls of Rome. It appears that the Jews, on payment of a certain rent, were allowed to inhabit this place when they were forbidden the city, as they were during the reign of Domitian. They were not allowed to trade, and were driven,

there was a grove with a sacred fountain and a shrine, had been let out to the Jews, who were so poor that the only furniture they possessed was a basket and a bed of hay; but that every tree was

it appears, to beg."—*Juvenal. et Pers. Sat.* Macleane, 2nd ed., Note, p. 46.

Line 96, he describes an encounter with a drunken Roman "gentleman," who meets him on his way home at night, comes right in front of him, and, among other questions, asks him, "Where do you hang out? In what *Proseucha* may I expect to find you?" "The *Proseucha* was a place erected for the purposes of worship where there was no synagogue, outside the walls of a city, by a stream, or the seaside, for the benefit of ablution. It was used like the synagogue three times a day, for reading the law and prayer. Reference seems to be made to it, Acts xvi. 13, Luke vi. 12." Macleane, *loc. cit.* Josephus often mentions these Proseuchae, and Philo (*in Flacc. Opera*, p. 752) complains that the προσευχαί of the Jews were pulled down, and that they had no place to worship God and pray for Caesar.

The Rev. E. Lewis, M.A., translates: "In what Jew's begging-stand shall I look for you?" but as there is no evidence that the Jews turned their Proseuchae into begging-stands, this interpretation is hardly tenable, unless it is supposed that Juvenal intended a contemptuous play on the idea of prayer. It seems much more probable that the satirist used the term in derision of the pious Jews who repaired to these praying-places three times a day. A homeward-bound passenger is quietly making his way through the street at night, when a gay young fellow meets him, and mocks his sobriety by asking him what praying-box he is generally to be found at; and this is a smart jest both at the Jew and his prayers. Vitringa favours the interpretation of the term *Proseuchae* by *Sacella*, in the sense of "places without covering sacred to the gods" (*De Structura Synagogarum*, Leucopetrae, 1726, p. 228). The Jews, however, did build even synagogues outside cities. Philo mentions one outside Rome, and complains that at Alexandria the trees planted round the synagogues had been torn down, and some of the synagogues themselves had been de-

ordered to pay rent to the people, and the Camoenae (the prophetic deities of the wood) having been cast out, the place had become a haunt of beggars. He also bestows a contemptuous notice upon their "Barbarus Agrippa," their Sabbaths, and the indulgence they show to swine in permitting them

stroyed. *De Virtutibus et Legatione ad Caium.* Vid. *Op. Om. quae ext.* Ed. Sigismund Gelen. Leutetiae Parisiorum, 1640.

In reference to the violation of the *Proseuchae*, Philo uses one argument which it is a question whether the Roman would appreciate as much as Philo wished—namely, that if these oratories were destroyed, the Jews would not be able to pray for the Augustan family. Dean Milman, *op. cit.*, Vol. ii., pp. 132, &c., gives a graphic description of the storm that broke upon the Jews in Alexandria when they refused to deify Caligula, and he adds the following note, p. 133:—Tradition thus speaks of the synagogue in Alexandria: "He who has never seen the Double Hall of Alexandria, has never beheld the majesty of Israel. It rose like a great palace (Basilica); there was colonnade within colonnade; at times a throng of people filled the building twice as great as that which went out of Egypt with Moses. There were seventy golden thrones within, inlaid with precious stones and pearls, according to the number of the seventy elders of the Sanhedrim. Each of these cost twenty-five millions of gold denarii. In the midst arose an *Alhambra* of wood, on which stood the choir leader of the synagogue. When any one rose to read in the Law, the President waved a linen banner, and the people answered 'Amen.' At every benediction which the President spoke, he waved the banner, and the people answered 'Amen.' They did not sit promiscuously, but each separate with his guild, so that strangers who entered might join their guild, and every man find his own trade." Dean Milman says: "This remarkable illustration of the traditions of the Egyptian settlement of the Jews, which we are surprised to find in the Talmud, is quoted from the Suka, in Delitzsch, *Geschichte der Judischen Poesie*, p. 26."

to reach a good old age;[1] and he pictures an old Jewess, interpretess of the laws of the Solymi, priestess of the tree,[2] and the trusty go-between messenger of highest heaven, as having crept from

[1] *Sat.* VI., 157—160.

. . . . . *hunc dedit olim*
Barbarus incestae, dedit hunc Agrippa sorori,
Observant ubi festa merope de Sabbata reges,
Et vetus indulget senibus clementia porcis.

Ibid., 542, ff.

. . . . . *Cophino foenoque relicto,*
Arcanum Judaea tremens mendicat in aurem
Interpres legum Solymarum et magna sacerdos
Arboris ac summi fida internuntia coeli;
Implet et illa manum, sed parcius: aere minuto,
Qualiacunque voles Judaei somnia vendunt.

[2] Meier (*Judaica*, p. 52,) says that the Jews of Rome used to pass the night with their families under some tree in the sacred grove, and in the morning go into the city to beg. He explains the expression, *magna sacerdos arboris*, as an allusion to the Jewish custom of tying their beasts of burden at night to the trees nearest the city, and sleeping there previous to performing their prophetic office; but Macleane's Note on Sat. III., 15, 16, furnishes the better elucidation: "*Cophinus* is the word used by the sacred writers for baskets in the accounts of the miracles of the loaves and fishes, and from these it is inferred that it was the general practice of the Jews when travelling to carry about with them small baskets for their daily food. See Bengel, on Matt. xiv. 9. The impostor here introduced is an old palsied Jewess whispering in the woman's ear something from the laws of Moses, especially those which related to the Sabbath, with which it appears the superstitious were easily frightened. The priestess gets a fee, but not so large as the priest. Probably the Jews traded upon the dream-interpretations of Joseph and Daniel, and made people believe it was a gift of their tribe. Selling dreams is to sell interpretations, to make them whatever may be desired."

her bed of hay to pursue her vocation, and, with a trembling voice, accosting with her entreaties the private ear of a woman of fashion, who crosses her hand with money, though the gift is small; "for the Jews will sell you any dreams you like for a trifling coin."

And in this satire on the force of education[1] he tells us that "certain persons happening to have a father who is afraid of breaking the Sabbath, worship nothing but the clouds and the deity of heaven, and they believe there is very little difference between human flesh and the flesh of swine, from which they have been taught to abstain. The next thing they do is to practise circumcision. But though they adhere to the Jewish fashion in their eating, and carefully keep every precept handed down by Moses in his secret volume, not even showing the way to a traveller unless he follows

[1] *Sat.* XIV., 96, ff.

Quidam sortiti metuentem Sabbatae patrem,
Nil praeter nubes, et coeli numen adorant;
Nec distare putant humana carne suillam,
Qua pater abstinuit; mox et praeputia ponunt.
Romanas autem soliti contemnere leges,
Judaicum ediscunt, et servant, ac metuunt jus,
Tradidit arcano quodcunque volumine Moses;
Non monstrare vias eadem nisi sacra colenti:
Quae situm ad fontem solos deducere verpos.
Sed pater in causa, cui septima quaeque fuit lux,
Ignava, et partem vitas non attigit ullam.

On the second line, *Nil praeter nubes*, comp. Note 2, p. 60.

their religion, or guiding any but the circumcised to a fountain if they can help it, yet they generally treat the Roman laws with indifference." Juvenal had not studied Solomon, or he would have taken the wise king's interpretation of the law,—viz., "If thine enemy be hungry, give him bread to eat; and if he be thirsty, give him water to drink,"—as a more authoritative exposition of Jewish morality than the corrupt practices into which the people had degenerated in Imperial Rome. "But the fault," Juvenal says, "was the father's, with whom every seventh day was one of idleness, on which he did not touch a single duty of life."

We might fairly apply to Juvenal what he himself said of the Greek writers (*Sat.* X., 174):—

Et quicquid Graecia mendax
Audet in historia.

"And whatsoever lying Greece dares (to tell) in history."

APPULEIUS, born at Madaura in Africa, early in the second century,[1] while characterizing the Egyptians as learned, calls the Jews "most superstitious," in accordance with the usual Roman idea of those who did not worship the heathen gods, and[2] he reckons Moses among the Magi.

[1] *Florid.*, Lib. I., Num. vi.
[2] Line 540.

CELSUS is quoted by Origen, who wrote a refutation of his attack upon Christianity, as having said [1] that "Moses obtained the name of *Divine* from the *doctrina* (or system of opinions) which he had received from wise nations and learned men."

Book I., ch. 23. "Celsus continues: These men, who were shepherds of goats and sheep, following their leader Moses, were deceived by his tricks, which he suited to their rustic capacity, into the belief that there was one God."

Ch. 26. "Celsus says that they (the Jews) render worship to angels, and devote themselves to magic arts, the leader of which was Moses."

Book III., ch. 5. "Celsus, thinking that the Jews left Egypt because they disturbed the Republic with seditious risings, and showed contempt for the established religion, says that they suffered the same things from [2] the followers of Jesus as the Egyptians had suffered from themselves (the Jews), and that in both cases the cause was their seditious effort to bring about innovation."

Book IV., 31. "He says that the Jews were fugitive slaves who left Egypt, and that they were never distinguished by any good deeds, in any place or in any number."

Ch. 33. "He says that in endeavouring to trace

[1] *Cont. Cels.*, Lib. I., c. 21.

[2] Καὶ ἀμφοτέροις αἴτιον γεγονέναι τῆς καινοτομίας τὸ στασιάζειν πρὸς τοὺς κοινόν.

their own origin[1] from the first family of jugglers and wanderers, they bring up in evidence obscure, ambiguous, and perverted statements from the darkness of the past, and interpret them in a crude and clumsy manner; although on this subject, for many ages past, there has been no difference of opinion."

Book V., ch. 6, Origen speaks of the wonder expressed by Celsus that the Jews, although they worshipped heaven and the angels in it, did not worship the parts of heaven, such as the sun, moon, and "other stars, fixed as well as wandering,"[2] and in chapters 43—50 mentions, as other points in which Celsus attacked them, their always keeping to the same religion, their not offering better sacrifices or more sincere worship than any other nations—such as the Persians, who slay victims to Jupiter on the loftiest hills,—and their practice of circumcision and abstinence from the flesh of swine, though Celsus is kind enough to consider that in adopting thees customs they were imposed upon by Moses.

Passing on to the writers of the third century, we find PHILOSTRATUS (born probably A.D. 172),[3]

[1] Ἀπὸ πρώτη σπορᾶ γοήτων καὶ πλάνων ἀνθρώπων.

[2] Καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀστέρας, ἀπλανεῖς τε καὶ πλανήτα.

[3] Clinton *Fasti Romani*, Vol. i., p. 257, supposes the birth of Philostratus to have taken place A.D. 182. Dr. Smith (*Class. Dict.*) makes it ten years earlier, and infers, from the way in which Philostratus mentions Julia Domna, the wife of Severus, at whose

in his *Life of Apollonius Tyanaeus*, Book V., 11, remarking that the Jews not only kept aloof from the Romans, but from all men;—that they would neither eat, drink, nor pray with other men, and were farther apart from their neighbours than Susa was from Bactria, or even from India.

PORPHYRIUS, born A.D. 233, the Neo-Platonic philosopher, known as a great antagonist to Christianity, gives the following as oracles of Apollo:—

"The way of the happy is steep and rough; the entrance is through brass-bound gates, but there are unspeakable paths which those who drink the beautiful waters of the everlasting Nile were the first of human beings to lay open; and the Phoenicians, Assyrians, Lydians, and the race of Hebrew men taught many ways of the happy."

"The Chaldeans and Hebrews alone received wisdom as their destiny, worshipping the self-produced Ruler, in a pure manner, as God."

"There is one circular movement in the whole cosmos, but it is extended with seven zones to the starry ways—which the Chaldeans and the renowned Hebrews call heavenly—to a seventh course." [1]

request the *Life of Apollonius* was written, that it must have been finished after her death, which occurred A.D. 217.

[1] ἀριζήλητοι, Fort. scr. ἀριζήλωτοι, "much to be envied."

Porphyrii *De Philosophia ex Oraculis Haurienda*. Ed. Gustav. Wolff, Berlin, 1856, pp. 140, 141. Wolff, in a note to the last of these passages, quotes the remark of Thilo, *De coelo empyreo*,

AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS—a soldier-historian of the fourth century, and one of a sect who thought they had an intermediate standing-place between Paganism and Christianity, but as Mosheim thinks, a real Pagan—gave the history of Rome from the accession of Nerva, where Suetonius ends, to the death of Valens.

In Book XIV., ch. 8, § 11, 12, he writes: "The last district of Syria is Palestine, a country extending over a considerable length, abounding in trim and highly cultivated lands, and possessing several splendid cities, none yielding pre-eminence to another, but each and all a match and rival to the rest; amongst which are Cæsarea, built by Herod in honour of the Emperor Octavian, and Eleuthropolis and Neapolis, as well as Ascalon and Gaza, which were founded at an earlier period. In these districts no navigable river is to be seen anywhere; but in very many places natural warm springs rise from the earth, which are suitable as remedies for various disorders. But these districts also were similarly formed into a kind of province by Pompey, (after he had conquered the Jews, and captured

Diss. I., p. 13, that by this "fictitious oracle" the zones are said to be orbs or spheres of the seven planets, in the centre of which is the station of the sun. Porphyrius is also quoted by Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.*, I. 9,) as treating of the Mosaic history and Jewish antiquities, and by St. Jerome (*Comment. in Daniel*) as attacking the prophecy of Daniel.

Jerusalem,) and the administration was committed to a governor."

Book XXII., c. 5, Marcellinus adds, that when "Julian passed Palestine on his way to invade Egypt, he lost all patience with the disgusting, noisy Jews."

In Book XXIII., c. 1, however, Ammianus goes on to show that there were other reasons than this for Julian's loss of patience.

"These," he observes, "(to pass over unimportant particulars) were the transactions of that year. Julian, however, already three times Consul, having adopted as his colleague in the consular purple Sallustius, the Prefect of the Gallic provinces, had for the fourth time entered upon the highest office of the State; and it seemed an innovation for a private individual to be associated with the Emperor—a circumstance which, since the times of Diocletian and Aristobulus, no one remembered to have happened. And although still anxiously providing for possible emergencies, he continued with unremitting energy to push forward the manifold requisites for the campaign; still directing his attention to all points, and desiring to perpetuate the memory of his reign by the greatness of his works, he contemplated restoring at immense expense the gorgeous temple in Jerusalem, which, after many and bloody battles,

and notwithstanding a siege first by Vespasian and afterwards by Titus, was with difficulty taken by storm. Now, he had committed the execution of this work to Alypius of Antioch, who had previously been deputy-governor of the Britannic provinces. Whilst Alypius accordingly was energetically pressing on the work, assisted by the governor of the province, terrible balls of flame, bursting forth in continuous rushes near the foundations, rendered the place unapproachable, and in several instances workmen were burnt to death. The devouring element thus resolutely repelling them, the enterprise came to an end."

JUSTIN (date unknown, but not later than the beginning of the fifth century), in chronicling the exploits of Philip of Macedonia, mentions the conquest of the Jews by Antiochus, and notices their strength previous to that period, as proved by the fact that after they recovered their freedom from Demetrius, they never suffered another Macedonian king to reign over them, but made use of their own leaderships, and harassed Syria with serious wars.[1]

In chapter 2, he traces the origin of the Jews to

[1] *Hist. Philip*, Lib. xxxvi., c. 1. Justin professes to have derived his materials from Trogus Pompeius, a Latin historian in the time of Augustus. Dean Milman, *op. cit.*, p. 28, note, observes: "Justin proceeds to give the view of the Jews and of their history popular among the Greeks—a singular confusion of the true and the erroneous."

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Damascus,[1] and says that after Damascus, who gave his name to that city, Azelus, Adores, Abraham, and Israel were monarchs in succession, but that the happy arrival of ten sons made Israel more renowned than his predecessors. Hence Israel divided the people into ten kingdoms, which he gave to his sons, all of whom he called Jews from Judah who died after the division; ordered that the memory of Judah should be held in reverence; and divided his portion among the other sons. The youngest of these was seized by his brothers and secretly sold to foreign traders, who carried him into Egypt, where by his quick comprehension he learned the arts of magic, and he soon became dear to the king himself. He was extremely sagacious with regard to prodigies, and was the first to institute the interpretation of dreams, and there was nothing pertaining to divine or human law that he did not know; so that he even foresaw the barrenness of the land many years before, and all Egypt would have perished of hunger but that, by his advice, the king had ordered the corn to be laid up for many years. Such were his practical measures,

[1] Thus differing from Clearchus, who took them to be Indians, comp. p. 42; from Diodorus, who finds them first in Egypt, though as foreigners there, comp. pp. 22, 58; from Tacitus, who derives them from Crete, comp. p. 81; and from Strabo, who distinctly gives them an Egyptian ancestry, comp. p. 30.

and of such a kind, that not only man but God seemed to respond to them. His son was Moses, who not only inherited his father's wisdom, but had the additional advantage of personal beauty.

Justin then repeats the old story of the expulsion in consequence of the leprosy, and says that Moses stole the sacred vessels of the Egyptians, and that the Egyptians tried to recover them, but were driven back to their homes by tempestuous weather. "Moses having returned to Damascus, the country of his ancestors, took possession of Mount Sinai, where, on his arrival with his people, wearied by a fast of seven days in the desert, he set apart the seventh day, called the Sabbath according to the custom of the nation, to be observed as a fast in all ages, because that day had brought their wandering and their hunger to an end. And remembering that they had been driven out of Egypt for fear of contagion, they were careful not to have any communication with strangers, lest they should be disliked by the inhabitants for the same reason; and this, which was at first only a precautionary measure arising out of the circumstances of the time, by degrees became converted into a rule and religious duty. Next after Moses, his son Aruas was made priest of the Egyptian mysteries, and soon after king, and from that time it was always a custom with the Jews to combine the office of priest

and king[1] in the person of the same men; and it was amazing what power they gained by this union of religious office with the administration of justice."

Justin made no claim to the merit of an independent historian, and the above extract is strongly marked by his known failings as a compiler,—arbitrariness in choosing his facts, and want of critical skill in testing them. Not waiting to discriminate between fact and fiction, he strings together all the odds and ends of Jewish history that he can find, and occasionally throws in a theory of his own which by no means improves the narrative. The above extract is a specimen of his defects.

Then, Trogus, the chief source of Justin's anthology, though himself a Roman, followed the Greek authors of his own time, such as Theopompus, Ephorus, Posidonius, and others, with all of whom it was more or less a custom to spice their compositions with fables, whilst he frequently differed from such historians as Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon. A. H. L. Heeren, in a very temperate Latin essay[2] *On the Sources and Authority of Trogus Pompeius*, finds an excuse for Trogus in the literary fashion of his age, and considers that he took what

[1] This is directly contradictory to the statement of Diodorus Siculus (comp. p. 24), as also to the well-established facts of history.

[2] *De Trogi Pompeii Fontibus et Auctoritate*, § 24. Commentationes Societatis Regiae Scientiarum Gottingensis, Vol. xv.

he states about the Jews from Posidonius, the Stoic philosopher contemporary with Pompey and Cicero, whose aim was to reconcile all systems of philosophy. Of him Heeren says: "No one will wonder that in a Greek writer who knew but little about Jewish affairs, true things and false should be mixed together." [1]

CLAUDIUS CLAUDIANUS, the last of the Latin classic poets, belonging to the end of the fourth and the beginning of the fifth century, mentions the Jews twice. He associates the Cicilians, Jews, and Sophenians as coming westward to trade; [2] and he speaks of

"India, which is painted on Jewish veils." [3]

The bitterest and most abusive of all writers on the

[1] *Vera autem ac falsa permixta esse, in Scriptore Graeco, rerum Judicarum parum perito, nemo mirabitur.*

[2] *Carmen in Eutropium*, I., 20.

[3] One of the speakers in the poem solemnly asks whether it is right to be imposed upon by falsehoods, just because they are dressed up in some appearance of mystery or monstrosity; and after instancing such fabled impossibilities as flying tortoises, vultures with horns, streams running up to mountain-tops, the sun rising in the west instead of the east, crops of corn growing on the sea, dolphins wandering about in woods, and men joined to snails, he winds up the list of prodigies by reference to "India, which is represented on Jewish veils." India being to the Romans quite a land of mystery, it is extremely probable that the wildest things which the imagination of the artist could conceive, as a decoration for curtains and screens, would pass muster as having their prototypes in that part of the world.

But the reading *Judaicis* has been much disputed. Some

idiosyncrasies of the Jews, is RUTILIUS NUMATIANUS. In a poetic effusion produced A.D. 417,[1] during the reign of Honorius, and directed against their unsocial habits, their great frugality, their practice of circumcision, and their Sabbaths, which, he says,

prefer *Lydiis*, others *Babylonicis*. Others even read *Attalicis* = superbis, and others *Niliacis* for Ægyptiis, or Alexandrinis, as Plautus says: *Alexandrina belluata, conchyliata tapetia.* Vid. ed. P. Burman. Secund. Note in loc. Claverius adopted *Indiam* instead of India. N. L. Artaud, in a note to his edition, rejects the passage as spurious. But as Pliny, *H. N.*, xxxv. § 32, mentions that the Romans derived their colours, made of river-slime and of the blood of dragons and elephants, from India; and, § 33, notices the order which Nero gave for a colossal image of himself, 120 feet high, to be painted on canvas, we learn both that the art of painting on woven fabrics was in practice then, and that India supplied the colours. It is therefore not unlikely that, with the colours, subjects for painting, many of which would be grotesque and even monstrous, were imported to Rome, and some of the wealthier Jews may have adorned the hangings in front of their rooms in this way. Considering, however, the general poverty of the Jews in Rome, the presumptive evidence is rather in favour of the theory that Claudian refers to the *manufacture* of veils by the Jews.

[1] *Itinerar.*, I. v. 381, ff. Rutilius is equally severe upon the monks, and the earlier and more respectable Roman writers were generally quite as bitter against the Christians as against the Jews, evidently regarding the former as an offshoot, in creed at least, from the latter. Pliny, in reporting his inquiries about the Christians to Trajan, *Epist.*, Lib. X., 97, edit. Schœfer, Vol. ii., pp. 97—201, gives it as his opinion that their stubbornness and inflexible obstinacy ought to be punished, and calls Christianity a system deformed and carried to excess (*superstitionem pravam et immodicam*). Tacitus, *Ann.*, xv., 44, speaks of the Christian faith as "a deadly superstition" (*exitiabilis superstitio*), of which he considers Judaea is the origin. Suetonius, *Nero*, 16, says the Christians are "a kind of men of a new and mischievous super-

"are the essence of folly, and freeze the soul," he declares that they complain of having their trees touched, or a drop of water taken from their tanks; that in return the Romans visited on them all the sufferings they deserved; that their own heart is colder still than their religious rites; that they condemn every seventh day to despicable drowsiness, as if it were the image of a weary and worn-out God; that other insane practices, which he believes even some boys would not credit, go on in this lying slave-cage of Judaea; and then he winds up with the wish that Judaea had never been conquered in the wars of Pompey, or under the empire of Titus, for though the excrescence has been cut off, the virus creeps through the veins, and the conquered nation overcomes its conquerors.[1]

stition" (*novae ac maleficae superstitionis*). Minucius Felix, the Roman lawyer who defended Christianity in the latter part of the second century, in the opening of the dialogue which he puts into the lips of Coecilius, a heathen, and Octavius, a Christian (*Octav.* edit. Jacob Ouzel, Lyons, 1652, pp. 8, 9), represents what was currently urged against the Christians in the pagan world, when he makes Coecilius say that the Christians "vilified the gods," that they "were leagued in execrable and scandalous doings," that they "worshipped the head of an ass," and even "offered obscene adoration to their priests." *Alii eos ferunt ipsius antistitis ac sacerdotis colere genitalia, et quasi parentis sui adorare naturam; nescio an falsa, certé occultis ac nocturnis sacris opposita suspicio.*

[1] Seneca also (Augustin., *Civ. Dei*, VI., 2,) says: "Meanwhile the custom of that most outrageous nation has prevailed to such an extent, that it has already been received all over the world; the conquered have given laws to the conquerors."

The concluding words of this scurrilous Roman serve to remind us that several passages in the literature of the distant past remain to be considered, which, however, will necessitate some retrogression from the chronological period at which we have arrived.

III.

PALESTINE: ITS GEOGRAPHY, AND ITS WARS.

HERODOTUS, Book II., ch. 106: "The pillars which Sesostris erected in the conquered countries have for the most part disappeared; but, in the part of Syria called Palestine,[1] I myself saw them still

[1] Sir George Wilkinson adds the following note to this passage: "The Stelæ seen by Herodotus in Syria were doubtless those on the rock near Berytus (Beyroot), at the mouth of the Lycus (Nahr el Kelb), engraved by Rameses II.: one is dedicated to Amun, another to Pthah, and a third to Re, the gods of Thebes, Memphis, and Heliopolis, the three principal cities on his march through Egypt. Almost the only hieroglyphics now traceable are on the jambs of the tablets, which have one of the usual formulas—'The good God,' or 'Phrah (Pharaoh) the powerful . . . King of Kings, Remeses, to whom life has been given like the Sun'; but the lines below the figure of the King, who slays the foreign chiefs before the God, and which should contain the mention of his victories, are too much defaced to be legible. The doubts of M. Saulcy respecting the genuineness of these stelæ are extraordinary in these days. Close to these are stelæ of an Assyrian king, who is now found to be Sennacherib, who built the great palace at Korjunjik. Mr. Layard (*Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 355,) mentions a colossal Egyptian Sphinx and two priests carved on a rock above the city of Antioch."

standing with the writing above mentioned distinctly visible."[1]

MANETHO, in his account of the Twenty-sixth Egyptian Dynasty, introduces Nechao, the fifth of the Saïte kings, as taking Jerusalem and carrying Joachaz the king captive to Egypt; and he says that the remainder of the Jews fled to Vaphris, the seventh of the same dynasty, when Jerusalem was taken by the Assyrians.[2]

[1] According to the record seen by Herodotus, Sesostris considered the people of Palestine a cowardly race. Ch. 102, Herodotus describes the pillars as bearing, in countries where the natives resisted him and fought for their liberties, the name of Sesostris with a statement that he had reduced the inhabitants to subjection by the might of his arms; where, on the contrary, they submitted readily and without a struggle, he added an emblem to mark that they were a nation of women, that is unwarlike and effeminate. The name Sesostris is considered to be synonymous with Ramses or Rameses, and probably a popular surname derived from one of the renowned kings of the twelfth dynasty (*Class. Dict.*) Josephus, *Antiq.*, VIII., 10. 2, supposes that Shishak, to whom Rehoboam gave up Jerusalem without resistance, was the author of the record, and thinks Herodotus applied his actions to Sesostris.

[2] Vid. J. P. Cory, *op. cit.*, p. 241, where this quotation is given from Dindorf's text of *Africanus*. Mr. Cory also gives (pp. 61, 63) two fragments, quoted by Eusebius (*Chron.*, pp. 39, 44), from ALEXANDER POLYHISTOR, in the first of which he refers to "the historical writings of the Hebrews," as stating that a king of the Chaldeans named Phulus (Phul) invaded the country of the Jews; and in the second he states that "Nebucodrossorus came with a mighty army, and led the Jews and Phoenicians and Syrians into captivity." But Mr. Cory (p. 59) thinks these fragments are probably extracts from Berosus. In a catalogue furnished by Scaliger from a chronology compiled

POLYBIUS, born about B.C. 204, in speaking of Philoteria, describes it as[1] "near the lake through which the river called Jordan passes to the plains near Scythopolis;" and he shows the value of these cities, and the country around them, when they were subjugated by Antiochus, as affording abundant supplies to his army. In the remains of his 16th Book[2] he refers to Scopas, Ptolemy's general, who "rushed into the interior of the country and conquered the nation of the Jews in the winter."

LUCRETIUS protests against the superstitious idea which had been entertained about the poisonous qualities of the Dead Sea, as follows:[3] "There is said to be seen a place also in Syria, to which, as soon as quadrupeds direct their steps, its very force makes them fall down heavily and suddenly, as if they were slain by hands as a sacrifice to the gods. But all these things are carried on by natural order, and their origin and the causes from which they arise are evident. It is not to be believed that the gate of Orcus is placed in these regions, nor must we suppose that the infernal gods per-

"ab homine barbaro inepto Hellenismi et Latinitatis imperitissimo,"—possibly (Cory suggests) a mutilated copy of Castor's *Canon*,—mention is made of Ozias, king of Judah.

[1] *Hist.*, Lib. V., 70.

[2] *Hist.*, Lib. XVI., 39.

Ὁρμήσας εἰς τοὺς ἄνω τόπους, κατεστρέψατο ἐν τῷ χειμῶνι τὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος.

[3] *De Rerum Natura* (published about B.C. 57), Lib. VI., 755.

adventure lead souls down hence to the shores of Acheron. . . ." Lucretius then gives a copious explanation, in which he compares the phenomena of the Dead Sea to many other similarly fatal effects on animal life, some kinds of creatures being more or less specially subject to the influences of particular substances and gases; and he considers the destructiveness of the atmosphere in this instance to be an ordinary circumstance in this category.

STRABO, to whose work we have already referred, includes within the boundaries of Syria, Commagene, and the Seleucis of Syria, as it is called; Coele-Syria; on the coast, Phoenicia; and in the interior, Judaea. "Some writers," he observes, in his *Geography*, Bk. XVI., ch. 2, § 2, "divide the whole of Syria among the Coelo-Syrians, Syrians, and Phoenicians, and say that, with these, four nations are intermingled, viz., Jews, Idumaeans, Gazaeans, and Azotians, some of whom are husbandmen, as the Syrians and Coelo-Syrians, and others merchants, as the Phoenicians." He then proceeds to describe Syria and Phoenicia, and after noticing Ace, the tower of Strato,[1] with its haven for ships, Mount Carmel, and some "cities of which nothing but the name is left," he adds, "then

[1] An ancient city to which Herod, after repairing, enlarging, and adorning it with many fine buildings, gave the name of Caesarea, in honour of Augustus. Comp. p. 126 (Pliny).

comes a great forest of oaks, and after that Jope, near which the coast of Egypt, which at first stretches towards the east, makes a remarkable bend towards the north. Here, according to the fabulous accounts of some writers, Andromeda was exposed to the sea-monster. The place stands on a good elevation, and is said to command a view of Jerusalem, the metropolis of the Jews, who, when they descended to the sea, used this naval station. But it is manifest that the stations of robbers are the receptacles of robbers. Carmel and the forest belonged to the Jews. The district was so populous that the neighbouring village of Iamnia, and the settlements around, could furnish forty thousand soldiers."

Having then noticed the tradition that the Jews sprang from an Egyptian ancestry,[1] and stated that the Idumaeans ("who," he says, "are Nabataeans")[2]

[1] For Strabo's account of Moses see p. 30.

[2] The Nabataeans were considered by Josephus (*Antiq.*, I., 13) to be descendants of Nebaioth, the eldest son of Ishmael. He says that Ishmael's descendants inhabited all the country from the Euphrates to the Red Sea, and called it Nabatene. The tribe "Nabat," whose ancient existence between the Tigris and Euphrates has been proved by Quartremère (*Memoire sur les Nabatéens*) and Prof. Chwolson (*Die Ssabier*), were probably a branch of the same family. The Nabataeans appear to have settled at an early period in and around Edom, having driven out the Edomites. They cut to pieces the army sent against their capital, Petra, by Antigonus, B.C. 312, and successfully resisted a second invasion. They established an active trade with

being driven from their own country by sedition, came over to the Jews and adopted their national customs, Strabo, after giving some brief particulars about Galilee and the city of Samaria, "called Sebaste by Herod," continues, § 41:—

"Jericho is a plain surrounded by a mountainous district which slopes towards it somewhat in the manner of a theatre. Here is the Phoenicon (or plantation of palms), which contains various other cultivated and fruitful trees; but its chief production is the palm-tree.[1] It is one hundred

other countries on all sides. When they founded a monarchy, it was known as "the kingdom of Arabia," the further name "Petraea" being sometimes added. A daughter of their king Aretas was married to Herod Antipas, son of Herod the Great, from whom he inherited the tetrarchy of Galilee and Petraea. The Nabathaean kingdom was overthrown A.D. 105, and annexed to the Roman empire, under the influence of which the race only increased in enterprize and wealth, making roads across the desert of Arabia and through the mountainous wilds of Edom for their caravans, and constructing the wonderful rock-temples, palaces, and tombs, the ruins of which attest their amazing energy and skill. Vid. Dion. Cass., lxviii., 14. Eutrop., viii. 2, 9. Diod. Sic,, II., III., XIX. Kitto, *Bib. Cyc.*, ad voc. "Nebaioth."

[1] The land and the palm tree were closely associated in the Roman mind, as witness Vespasian's coin, with his own image on one side, and on the other a palm and a weeping woman, with the inscription "*Judaea capta.*" The palm was used for building, making bread and wine, and even for weaving into cloth. Its oil and its fruit were also valuable articles of trade. Suetonius, referring to the abstemiousness of Augustus, makes him say, c. 76, that he had only eaten some bread and some small dates in his carriage. Justin attributes the luxurious growth of the palm tree in Judaea to the moderate warmth of the atmo-

stadia[1] in length; the whole is watered with streams, and full of dwellings. Here also is a palace, and the garden of the balsamum.[2] The latter is a bushy plant, resembling the cytisus and the terminthus, and with an aromatic smell. Incisions are made in the bark, and vessels are

sphere; Diodorus (Lib. II., 48), to the streams and springs which intersect the country. Justin, XXXVI., 3, also notices the genial warmth of the climate as compared with the extreme heat in other districts. Horace *Epist.*, Lib. II., 2, refers to the "rich palm-groves of Herod"—

Herodis palmetis pinguibus.

[1] A stadion is equal to a furlong.

[2] P. Papinius Statius probably refers to this (*Silvae*, Lib. V., 1, line 213) under the name of *Hebraei liquores*, and Lib. II., 1, line 161, he uses the term *Palaestinos liquores;* and Dioscorides, a physician of the first or second century, in his *Materia Medica*, which treats of all the medicines used in his day, (Lib. II., c. 18, Paris, 1537, pp. 10, 11,) describes the balsam as produced in Judaea, and sets forth its many medical uses. Some authors, however, have maintained that it grew also in Egypt and in Arabia. Florus, *Rer. Rom.*, Lib. III., c. 5, says that when Pompey came down from the more northern regions to Lebanon and Damascus, he "carried the Roman standards through those fragrant groves and woods of frankincense and balsam." Fungerius, *Etymol. Latin.*, Frankfort, 1806, pp. 739—741, *ad voc.* "Palma" observes that "according to the statements of Pausanias and Plutarch, Theseus, on his return from Crete to Delos, instituted the custom of crowning conquerors in various contests with the palm, and he adds a curious account of the way in which they were propagated:

Eadem, ne quid elegans dissimulem, in foeminam et marem distinguntur. Quod si hae duae palmae species propter se invicem ponantur, deprehenditur mas attrahere ad se foeminam, foemina vero non aversari ejus complexum, sed ramis exporrectis ad ejus quodammodo osculum se explicare. Ut ideo nonnulli conjugalis amoris et nuptiarum esse volucrint signum.

placed beneath to receive the sap, which is like gummy milk. After it is collected in vessels, it becomes solidified. It is wonderfully efficacious as a remedy for headache, incipient suffusion of the eyes, and dimness of sight. Hence it fetches a high price, especially as it is produced in no other place. This is the case also with the Phoenicon, the caryotic palm not existing anywhere else except on the Babylonian plain and in the country further towards the east. Hence a large revenue is derived from these trees; and the xylobalsamum also is used as a perfume."

§ 42. "The lake Sirbonis is of considerable size. Some say that it is 1,000 stadia in circumference. It stretches along the coast to the distance of a little more than 200 stadia. It is deep near the shore, and the water is very heavy, so that no one can dive into it, and any one wading into it up to the waist is immediately lifted out of the water. It abounds with asphalt, which rises, though not at any regular seasons, in bubbles like boiling water, from the middle of the deepest part. The surface is convex, and presents the appearance of a hillock. Together with the asphalt there ascends a great quantity of sooty vapour, not visible to the eye, which tarnishes silver, copper, and everything bright, even gold. The neighbouring people know by the tarnishing of their vessels that the asphalt is

beginning to rise, and they prepare to collect it by means of rafts composed of reeds. The asphalt is a clod of earth liquified by heat, blown up by air to the surface, and spread abroad, but again turned into a firm and solid mass by cold water, such as the water of the lake, so that it requires cutting or chopping. It floats on account of the nature of the water, which, as I have described, does not admit of diving or immersion, but lifts up the person who goes into it. Those who go on rafts for the asphalt cut it in pieces, and each one takes away as much as he can carry."[1]

§ 43. "Such are the facts.[2] It is natural for these phenomena to take place in the middle of the lake, because the source of the fire and of the asphalt is in the centre, and the greater part comes from thence. But the bubbling up of the asphalt occurs at uncertain times, because the motion of the fire, like that of many other vapours, has no order apparent to us. Similar occurrences take place at Apollonia in Epirus."

[1] Dioscorides, *op. cit.*, i., 84, asserts that "the Judaean bitumen is the best because it shines like purple, is heavy, and retains its perfume, though, on the other hand, it is condemned because of its being adulterated with pitch."

[2] *γόητας δὲ ὄντας σκήπτεσθαί φησιν ἐπῳδὰς ὁ Ποσειδώνιος τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ οὖρα καὶ ἄλλα υσώδη ὑγρά, ἃ περικαταχίαντας καὶ ἐκπιάσαντας πήττειν τὴν ἄσφαλτον, εἶτα τέμνειν· εἰ μή τίς ἐστιν ἐπιτηδειότης τῶν οὔρων τοιαύτη, καθά περ καὶ ἐν ταῖς κύστεσι τῶν λιθιώντων, καὶ ἐκ τῶν παιδικῶν οὔρων ἡ χρυσόκολλα συνίσταται.*

§ 44. "Many other facts are alleged in proof that this country is full of fire. Near Moasada rugged rocks are shown bearing the marks of fire; then fissures may be observed in many places; a soil like ashes; drops of pitch distilling from the rocks; rivers boiling up, and emitting a fetid odour to a great distance; the ruins of dwellings all about; so that there may be truth in the common tradition of the natives, that thirteen cities once existed there, the capital of which was Sodom, but that a circuit of about sixty stadia around it escaped uninjured; shocks of earthquakes, however, eruptions of fire, and hot-springs, containing asphalt and sulphur, caused the lake to burst its bounds, and the rocks ignited, and some of the cities were swallowed up, while others were abandoned by such of the inhabitants as could make their escape. But Eratosthenes asserts, on the contrary, that the country was once a lake, and that the greater part of it was uncovered by the water running off through a breach, as was the case in Thessaly."[1]

§ 45. "In the Gadaris, also, there is a lake of noxious water; if beasts drink it, they lose their hair, hoofs, and horns. At a place called Taricheaes[2] the lake supplies the best fish for curing. On its

[1] *τὴν θάλατταν*, probably for *τὴν Θετταλίαν*.

[2] There were large salting-works at this place on the Lake of Gennesaret.

banks grew trees bearing fruit like the apple. The Egyptians use the asphalt for embalming the bodies of the dead."

§ 46. "Pompey, having curtailed certain of the territories which the Jews had taken by violence, seized the priesthood, and gave it to Herod.[1] Some time afterwards, Herod, one of the same family at a subsequent period, and a native of the country, having insinuated himself into the priesthood, attained so much distinction above his predecessors, particularly in his intercourse, both civil and political, with the Romans, that he received the title and authority of King, first from Antony, and afterwards from Augustus Cæsar. Some of his sons he put to death, on the pretext of their having conspired against him; others he left at his death to succeed him, and assigned to each a portion of his kingdom. Cæsar bestowed marks of honour upon the sons of Herod, as well as on his sister Salome, and her daughter Berenice. The sons, however, were not fortunate, but were publicly accused. One of them died among the Galatae Allobroges, to whose country he had been sent in exile. The others, by great interest and solicitation, with difficulty obtained leave to return to their own country, each having his own tetrarchy restored to him."

Book XVII., ch. 1, § 15. He adds that "the

[1] Hyrcanus.

Egyptians, to augment the revenue, applied to the byblus or papyrus a method which the Jews practised on the palm-tree, especially the caryotic, and on the balsam," which was to extract the juice for its sugar.[1]

DIODORUS SICULUS thus describes the lake Asphaltites:[2] "There is a rock surmounted by a town with only one approach, by which a few at a time may climb up and put down their burdens, in the country of the Nebataioi, and there is a large lake, carrying (on its surface) much asphalt, from which they obtain considerable revenues. Its length is about fifty stadia, and its breadth about sixty. The water is fetid and very bitter, so that it cannot supply sustenance to fish, or to any other creatures accustomed to water. Large rivers, excellent for sweetness, are discharged into it; but it neutralizes this with its fetidness, for a vast quantity of asphalt is produced every year, sometimes more than three acres, and sometimes two. The larger mass is usually called, by the barbarians who live around the lake, *taurus* (a bull), and the smaller *moschus* (a calf), as it floats on the water, and looks, to those who see it from a distance, just like an island.

"The throwing up of the asphalt announces itself twenty days beforehand. For its odour meets the

[1] Comp. Pliny's account of the balsam, p. 128.

[2] *Bibl. Hist.*, Lib. II., c. 48.

air over a circle of the lake many stadia in circumference, and everything silver, gold, or brass in the neighbourhood loses its peculiar colour; though this is restored when all the asphalt has been exhaled.[1] But the heat and impurity of the surrounding atmosphere makes the bodies of the people diseased and very short-lived. Nevertheless the country is blessed with palm-groves, while it is intersected by generous streams and fertilizing springs.

"In a valley in these regions a plant is produced called balsam, which brings in a splendid profit, and is not to be found anywhere else in the world. As a medicine it is of the highest value."

L. ANNAEUS SENECA philosophizes on one of the peculiarities of the Dead Sea water as follows:[2] "There was in Sicily, and there still is in Syria, a lake in which bricks swim, and things thrown on to

[1] Dr. Shaw (*Travels in Barbary and the Levant*) was told "that this bitumen for which the Dead Sea is so famous, rises at certain times from the bottom of the sea in large pieces of semi-globular form, which, as soon as they touch the surface, and the external air operates upon them, burst asumder in a thousand pieces with a terrible crash, like the *pulvis fulminans* of the chemists."

Bitumen seems to have been used among the ancients for covering boats and paying vessels, for cementing bricks (*e. g.* in Babylon as some think), for fuel, and for embalming the dead. Strabo speaks (Lib. XVI.) of subterraneous fires in the East, and it has been conjectured that they cause the bitumen to be thrown up. Local Arabs have said that it is found only after earthquakes. See art. "Chemar," Kitto's *Bibl. Cyclop.*

[2] *Quaest. Natur.*, Lib. III., 25.

it, although they may be heavy, cannot sink. The reason of this evidently is that if you weigh anything against water, so long as the quantity of each is equal, if the water is the heavier, it will bear up what is lighter than itself, and will raise it up so far above itself as it is the lighter; heavier things will descend. But if the weight of the water and of the substance that you weigh against it is equal, it will neither go to the bottom nor rise up, but it will be in an equal position with the water, and, indeed, will swim, though nearly immersed, and not standing out in any part. This is why certain timbers are borne quite above water, while others are submerged, and others go down to a position of equilibrium with the water: for the weight of each is equal, and neither yields to the other; the heavier go down, the lighter are supported. But the heaviness and lightness of anything cannot be ascertained by our judgment, but by comparison with something else. Hence, when water is heavier than a man's body, or than a mass of stone, it does not suffer that by which it is not overcome to be merged in it. And so it comes to pass that in certain lakes not even stones go to the bottom; I speak of solid and hard ones."

PLINY, born A.D. 24, in his *Natural History*,[1] gives a description of Judaea and the countries immediately

[1] Ed. G. Brotier, 1826.

contiguous to it, which it is interesting to compare with that of Strabo, who died the same year that Pliny was born.

Book V., ch. 13 (12). "Next on the coast lies Syria, formerly a most extensive country, and marked off into distinct parts by several different names; for the district which joins Arabia was called Palaestina, comprising Judaea and Coele, and then came Phoenice. The interior was called Damascena, and beyond that, further to the south, Babylonia. The region between the Euphrates and the Tigris bore the name of Mesopotamia, that beyond Taurus Sophene, and that on this side of the same chain Comagene. Beyond Armenia was the country of Adiabene, formerly Assyria,[1] and on the boundary of Cilicia, Antiochia. The length of the country from Cilicia to Arabia is 470 miles, and its breadth from Seleucia Pieria to Zeugma, a town on the Euphrates, 175. Those who divide the country more minutely state that Syria runs round Phoenice to the sea, and that on the sea-coast, Syria, of which Idumaea and Judaea form a part, comes first, then Phoenice, and then again Syria. The whole of the water that washes these shores is called the Phoenician Sea. To the Phoenician people belongs the glory of having invented letters and discovered

[1] Ammianus also (*Rer. Gest.*, xxiii., 6,) says that this country was called Assyria in former times, although it really belonged only to the chief of the six Assyrian provinces.

the sciences of astronomy, navigation, and the art of war."

Ch. 14. "On leaving Pelusium we come to the camp of Chabria, Mount Casius, a shrine of Jupiter Casius, and a tower of Pompeius Magnus. Ostracin, at a distance of sixty-five miles from Pelusium, is the frontier town of Arabia."

Ch. (13). "Then came Idumaea[1] and Palaestina,

[1] The Roman writers often associated Idumaea very closely with Judaea.

Statius, *Silv.*, V., 2, ver. 138-9, asks his friend Crispinus, to whom this ode is addressed, "Will you visit Solymus in ashes, and the captured palm-groves of Idumaea, which plants its happy woods only for another?"

Silicus Italicus, *De Bello Punico*, III., 600, mentions "palm-bearing Idumaea" in connexion with the military successes of Vespasian. Lucan, *Pharsal.*, III., 216, speaks of "Gaza and Idumaea rich with its grove of palms."

Valerius Flaccus, *Argonaut*, I., ver. 11—14, thus asks the kindly regard of Vespasian, in whose reign he published his epic, and alludes to the poetic genius of Domitian:

"Holy Father! listen while I recount the noble deeds of men
Long gone: Your son shall sing of conquered Idumaea
(For he can do it), and his brother, blackened with Solymian dust,
And scattering fire brands and fighting furiously in every fort the foe had built."

So also Martial, *Epig.* II., 2, when he pictures to Domitian the success of Titus in the East, says: "Thy brother will win Idumaean triumphs with your father's aid."

Juvenal, VIII., 160, mentions the "Syro-Phoenician" (a perfumer) "who lives at the Idumaean Gate," the name "Idumaean" having been given to a gate in Rome, near to the arch of Titus.

And Virgil, *Georg.* III., 12, "To thee, O Mantua, I first will bear off the Idumaean palms."

Professor Porter (Kitto's *Cyc.*, ad voc. "Idumæa,") observes:

at the point where the Lake Sirbo becomes visible. This lake, which some writers have given as 150 miles in circumference, is placed by Herodotus at the foot of Mount Casius; it is now a piece of standing water of very moderate size. The towns are Rhinocolura, and inland Rhaphea; Gaza, and inland Anthedon; and beyond that is Mount Angaris.

"Proceeding along the coast we reach the region of Samaria; Ascalo, a free town; Azotus; the two Jamniae, one of them in the interior; and Joppe, a city of the Phoenicians, which, it is said, existed before the deluge. It is situated on the slope of a hill, and in front of it lies a rock, upon which they point out the traces of the chains of Andromeda. Here the fabulous goddess Ceto is worshipped.

"Probably as a reward for the assistance afforded by them to the Chaldeans, the Edomites were permitted to settle in Southern Palestine and in the country lying between it and the borders of Egypt. The name Idumæa was now given to the whole country from the valley of Arabah to the Mediterranean (Joseph., *Antiq.*, V., 1. 22; Strabo, XVI., 2), and from Eleutheropolis to Elath (Jerome, *Comment. in Obad.*) Hence arose the mistakes of Roman writers, who sometimes give the name Idumæa to all Palestine, and even call the Jews Idumæans.

". . . On the revival of the Jewish power under the Asmoneans, that part of Southern Palestine to which the name Idumæa had been given by classic writers was seized, and the inhabitants compelled to conform to Jewish law. The country was governed by Jewish prefects, and one of these, an Idumæan by birth, became procurator of Judæa, and his son was Herod the Great, 'King of the Jews'."

Next comes Apollonia, and then the tower of Strato, also called Caesarea, built by King Herod, but now the colony known as Prima Flavia, established by the Emperor Vespasian.[1] This place is the frontier town of Palestine, at a distance of 189 miles from the confines of Arabia; after which comes Phoenice. In the interior of Samaria are the towns of Neapolis, formerly called Mamortha, Sebaste, situated on a mountain, and, on a more lofty one, Gamula."

Ch. 15 (14). "Beyond Idumaea and Samaria, Judaea extends far and wide. That part of it which adjoins Syria is called Galilee, while that which is nearest to Arabia and Egypt bears the name Peraea. The latter is seamed in different directions with rugged mountains, and is separated from the rest of Judaea by the river Jordan. The remaining part of Judaea is divided into ten toparchies, which we will name in order: Hiericus, planted with groves of palm-trees, and watered by numerous springs, Emmaus, Lydda, Joppa, Aorabatena, Gophna, Thamna, Bethleptephene, Orina, in which formerly stood Hierosolyma, by far the most famous city, not only of Judaea, but of the East, and Herodium, with a celebrated town of that name."

[1] In reference to this expression of Pliny's, Dean Milman, *op. cit.*, vol. ii., p. 381, asks whether it was the common sentiment of the times, or a skilful adulation of the conquerors Vespasian and Titus, Pliny's special patrons?

Ch. (15). "The river Jordan rises from the spring of Panias,[1] which has given its name to Caesarea, of which we shall speak hereafter. This is a delightful stream, and, as far as the nature of the localities permits, it winds about, making itself accessible to the inhabitants of the district, until it moves onwards, as if with great reluctance, towards the gloomy Asphaltites, in which it is finally absorbed, and loses its admired waters in pestilential ones. Hence, as soon as the valleys afford the opportunity, it discharges itself into a lake which many writers call Genesara, sixteen miles in length and six wide, and skirted by the pleasant towns of Julias and Hippo on the east, Tarichea (a name which some apply to the lake itself) on the south, and on the west by Tiberias, a place rendered salubrious by its warm springs."

Ch. (16). "Asphaltites produces nothing but bitumen, from which it derives its name. The bodies of animals will not sink in its waters;[2] even bulls and camels float in it; hence the saying that nothing sinks in it. It is more than a hundred miles long, and at its greatest breadth twenty-five wide,

[1] Caesarea was also called by this name.

[2] Pliny, Lib. II., 106 (103), states that "In the lake Asphaltites of Judaea, which produces bitumen, nothing can be immersed." Solinus also, who lived between the end of the fourth century and the transfer of the empire to Byzantium, gives an account of this lake, but it is almost in the words of Pliny.

at its smallest six. Arabia of the Nomades faces it on the east, and Machaerus on the south, at one time the most strongly fortified place in Judaea, after Hierosolyma. On the same side lies Callirrhoë, a warm medicinal spring, which by its very name announces the celebrity of its waters."

Ch. (17). "On the west of Asphaltites, and sufficiently distant to escape its noxious exhalations, are the Esseni, a people standing alone, and marvellous beyond all others in the whole world, for they have not a woman among them; they have renounced all sexual propensity; they have no money; and their only companions are palm-trees. Day by day, however, they are joined by crowds of new-comers, driven thither to adopt their customs by the storms of fortune and by weariness of life. Hence the extraordinary fact that this community lives on through thousands of ages, though not a single birth takes place within it; so fruitful a source of population to them is the dissatisfaction with life experienced by others. South of this people was formerly the town of Engadda, second only to Hierosolyma in the fertility of its soil, and its groves of palm-trees; now, like it, it is a heap of ashes. Next we come to Masada, a fortress on a rock, not far from Lake Asphaltites. Thus much concerning Judaea."

Book XII. 54 (25). "But all other perfumes are

considered inferior to the balsam, bestowed upon no land but Judaea, and formerly cultivated in two gardens only, both belonging to the king of the country; one of them was not more than twenty jugera in extent, and the other smaller. The emperors Vespasian and Titus exhibited this shrub in Rome, and it is worthy of special remark that since the time of Pompeius Magnus we also have carried trees in triumphal procession. This tree now renders us homage, and pays tribute with its nation, although it is of quite a different nature from that which our own and foreign writers had ascribed to it, for it is more like the vine than the myrtle. This newly acquired possession is said, like the vine, to be planted in shoots cut in the shape of a mallet; and it covers hills as the vines do, which support themselves without props. When it sends forth its own shoots, it is pruned in a similar manner, and if well raked it thrives and grows very rapidly, bearing fruit within three years. The leaf is as much like rue as possible, and it is an evergreen. The Jews vented their rage upon it as they did upon their own lives. The Romans, on the other hand, protected it, and fights have taken place for a single shrub. Its propagation is now attended to by the fiscal authorities, and the plants were never larger in number or more stately in size; but they never exceed two cubits. There are three kinds of the

tree. The first is called *eutheriston*,[1] and has a thin, hair-like foliage. The second is rugged in appearance, stooping, full of shoots, and more odoriferous than the former; they call this *trachy*.[2] The third is the *eumeces*,[3] so called because it grows higher than the others; it has a smooth bark. This is second in quality, and the eutheriston is third. The seed has a flavour very like wine; it is of a red colour, and rather oily; the lighter and greener the grains, the worse they are in quality. The branches are stouter than those of the myrtle. Incisions are made in it with glass, stone, or bone knives. It cannot bear to have its vital parts annoyed with iron; it immediately dies; although it will allow the superfluous growth of the same parts to be cut away. The hand of the person who makes the incision is directed with nice discernment so as not to touch it beneath the bark.

"A juice distils from the wound, which they call opobalsum; it is of rare sweetness, but produced only in little drops like tears, which are collected on wool, and pressed into small horns. When the juice is removed from these horns, it is placed in a new earthen vessel, and resembles a thick oil. While fresh it is of a white colour; it then turns

[1] easy to cut.
[2] rough.
[3] tall.

red, and hardens as it loses its transparency. When Alexander the Great was carrying on war in those regions, it was a fair day's work in the summer to fill one shell. The whole produce of the larger garden was six congii,[1] and of the smaller one a single congius, the price of it being double its weight in silver. Now the produce of even a single tree is larger. The incisions are made three times every summer, and after that the tree is pruned."

Book XIII., ch. 9. "There are numerous kinds of dates also, of a drier nature, which are long and slender, and sometimes of a curved shape. Those of this sort which we consecrate to the worship of the gods are called 'Chydaei' by the Jews, a nation remarkable for their contempt of the divinities."

Book XXX., ch. 2. "There is another sect, also, of adepts in the magic art, who derive their origin from the Jews Moses, Jannes, and Lotapea, but many thousands of years after Zoroaster; and as much more recent, again, is the Cyprian (sect of magicians). In the time, too, of Alexander the Great, this profession received no small accession to its credit from the influence of a second Osthanes, who had the honour of accompanying that prince in his expeditions, and who evidently, as no one will doubt, travelled over every part of the world."

[1] A *congius* = a little more than an English gallon.

Book XXXI., ch. 44. "Another kind of drink is made from fish without scales, assigned for use in superstitious observances which enjoin strict chastity, and even in the sacred rites of the Jews." [1]

PLUTARCH, in his *Life of Pompey*, ch. 39, relates that "Pompey conquered Judaea, and took its king, Aristobulus, captive. Some cities he built anew, and to others he gave their liberty, chastising their tyrants;" and he afterwards, ch. 45, names Aristobulus as one of the prisoners of war who graced Pompey's triumph.

The same author, in his *Life of Antony*, ch. 3, states that Antony was invited by Gabinius, the Proconsul, to join him in an expedition against Syria, and that he refused to go as a private individual, but on being appointed Commander of the Cavalry, he accompanied him; and being sent, in the first place, against Aristobulus, who was inciting the Jews to insurrection, he was the first to scale the loftiest of the ramparts, and he drove Aristobulus out of all his forts. Then, with a small band of his own, he attacked a vast number of the enemy, and slew almost all of them, Aristobulus and his son being taken prisoners.

[1] *Aliud vero castimoniarum superstitioni etiam, sacrisque Judaeis dicatum.* Brotier adds in a note: "Ita codd. Harduini et Chiffl. cum edd. Harduin. i. 2, 3, et recentt. *ad superstitionum castimoniam* et s. J. *abdicatum.* Vet. Dalec. *aliud vero ad castimoniarum superstitionem etiam.*" But the various readings make little difference.

Ch. 27. In describing the remarkable sweetness of Cleopatra's voice, and comparing it to a well-tuned instrument of many strings, which she used in such a manner that she could easily pass from the language of one people to another, Plutarch mentions the Hebrews among the various races whose ambassadors she used to answer without the assistance of an interpreter; and, ch. 36, he informs us that on Cleopatra's arrival in Syria, whither Antony had sent Fonteius Capito to conduct her, Antony gave her, among other provinces, the portion of Judaea which produced balm.

In ch. 66 of the same biography, Plutarch speaks of "Herod the Jew" as one of those who sent Antony military supplies in his war with Caesar; ch. 71, he adds that Herod went over to Caesar with some legions and cohorts. Ch. 72, we have the account of Alexas, the chief agent by whose efforts Cleopatra kept up Antony's separation from Octavia, being sent by Antony to Herod in the hope of retaining Herod's goodwill. "This man," Plutarch says, "having acted treacherously to Antony, and relying on Herod's interest, had the hardihood to appear before Caesar, but Herod did not save him from being quickly despatched in chains to his own country, and there put to death."

We now recur to TACITUS. In his *History*, Bk. I., ch. 10, he states that "Flavius Vespasian

carried on the Jewish war with three legions, having been appointed to the command by Nero, and," he adds in a sarcastic tone, "Vespasian had no design or feeling against Galba, for he had sent his son Titus to him with expressions of respect and submission. But by a hidden law of fate, which we believe in when good fortune is the proof of it, the sovereignty was destined by portents and responses to Vespasian and his children." Vespasian, however, according to the sequel in the narrative of Tacitus, did not look in vain to the conquest of Judaea as one of the indications in his favour with regard to the prospect of the purple.

Hist., Bk. II., ch. 78, Tacitus informs us that "between Judaea and Syria is Carmel, the name being given both to the mountain and to the God; and the Fathers said that this God had no image or temple. There was only an altar and awe. While Vespasian was offering sacrifice there,[1] and was meditating on his secret hopes, Basilides, the priest, having carefully examined the entrails of the victims, said, 'Vespasian! whatever you purpose, whether to build a house, to enlarge the bounds of your lands, or to increase the number of your slaves, a mighty throne, vast borders, a multitude of men, are given you.' This mysterious prophecy was immediately spread abroad, and was

[1] Compare the statement by Suetonius, p. 165 (*Vesp.*, c. 5).

then interpreted; nor was there anything more commonly talked about, especially in his own presence, in proportion as more is said to those who entertain hopes."

Ch. 79, Tacitus speaks of Antioch as the capital of Syria, and Caesarea as that of Judaea. And in the same chapter he adds that "the army in Judaea swore fidelity to Vespasian with such zeal, that even Titus his son, who was bringing important despatches with regard to the war, was not waited for."

Bk. V., ch. 6, he says: "The country is bounded on the east by Arabia, on the south by Egypt, and on the west by Phoenicia and the sea; Syria stretches far away to the north. The inhabitants are healthy and hardy; rain seldom falls, the soil is rich, and the fruits of the earth are like those to which we are accustomed; but besides these, there are the balm-tree and palms. The palm groves are tall and ornamental. The balsam is a shrub of middling size, and when a branch has swollen, if you apply iron to it, the veins shrink with dread; they are opened by a fragment of stone, or a shell: the juice is used by physicians.

"The principal range of mountains is Lebanon, and it is wonderful how, in the midst of such burning heat, these lofty heights hide away the snows in their rocky recesses. It is from this source that the

river Jordan is poured out and fed. And the Jordan does not flow into the sea; but having passed through two lakes, it is absorbed into a third. This last lake is of immense circuit, like a sea in appearance, but it has a fouler taste, and sends forth an effluvium which is injurious to the surrounding inhabitants. It is not moved by the wind, and it does not suffer fishes, or birds accustomed to water; and yet its capricious waters sustain things cast on them as if they were thrown upon a solid surface; whilst those who can swim and those who cannot are alike borne up. At a certain season of the year it produces bitumen, the method of collecting which, like other arts, is taught by experience. The fluid is naturally of a dark colour, and when thickened, by vinegar being sprinkled upon it, floats. It is then seized with the hand by those who make this their business, and drawn on board the boat. After this it flows in of itself, and loads the vessel, until you cut it off. And you cannot do so with brass or iron.[1] . . . Such is the account given by ancient authors. But those who are familiar with the

[1] *fugit cruorem vestemque infectam sanguine, quo feminae per menses exsolvuntur.* Vid. also Pliny, *N. H.*, Lib. XXVIII., 23: *Nam bitumen in Judaea nascens sola hac vi superari filo vestis contactae docuimus.* And Lib. VII., 13 (15): *Quin et bitumen sequax alioquin ac lenta natura, in lacu Judaeae; qui vocatur Asphaltites certo tempore supernatans, non quit sibi avelli, ad omnem tactum adhaerens praeter quam filo, quod tale virus infecerit.*

locality say that masses of bitumen are drifted (on the sea), and drawn ashore by the hand, and when hardened by heat from the earth, or by the rays of the sun, it is cut in pieces with axes or wedges, like timber or stone."

Ch. 7. "At a short distance from the lake are plains which tradition says were formerly fruitful, and occupied by large cities, but were burnt up by thunderbolts. It is said that traces of these still remain, and that the soil itself, which was naturally parched, lost all power of productiveness; for all things, whether spontaneously produced or planted by the hand of man, whether in the blade or grown to the flower, according to their species become blackened, shrivelled, and crumble to dust. For my part, as I would admit that cities once famous have been destroyed by fire from heaven, so I believe that the earth is infected by the exhalation from the lake, that the superincumbent air is poisoned, and that, therefore, the young plants which should have furnished autumn fruits wither away, the soil and the atmosphere near them being alike unwholesome. The river Belus glides along in the Jewish sea; sands are collected near its mouth, mixed with nitre and fused into glass. The shore is of moderate extent, and affords an exhaustless supply to those who turn it up."

Ch. 8. "A great portion of Judaea consists of

scattered villages, and there are also towns. Jerusalem is the capital of the nation, and contains a temple of immense wealth. The city is within the first fortifications you meet; in the next, the royal palace; and in the inmost enclosure, the temple. A Jew is not admitted beyond the portal of this edifice; all except the priests are excluded from the threshold. While the Assyrians, and after them the Medes and Persians, were masters of the East, the Jews were deemed the most contemptible of the nations thus held in subjection. After the establishment of the Macedonian power, King Antiochus, having formed a plan to abolish their superstition and introduce the customs of the Greeks, was prevented by a war with the Parthians from reforming this execrable nation, for Arsaces had then revolted. After that, when the Macedonians had become enfeebled, the Parthian state being yet in its infancy, and the Romans far away, the Jews seized the opportunity to erect a monarchy of their own. Their kings were soon deposed by the caprice of the people; but having recovered the throne by force of arms, and having dared to drive citizens into exile, to demolish cities, to kill brothers, wives, and parents, and other cruelties usual with kings, they encouraged the superstition because they assumed the dignity of the priesthood as a support of their power."

Ch. 9. "Pompey was the first Roman that subdued the Jews, and by right of conquest entered their temple. Thenceforward it became generally known that the habitation was unoccupied, and the sanctuary empty, there being no representation of the Deity.[1] The walls of Jerusalem were levelled to the ground, but the temple remained. In our civil war, which soon followed, when the eastern provinces fell to the lot of Mark Antony, Pacorus, the Parthian king, made himself master of Judaea, but was put to death by P. Ventidius, and the Parthians retired beyond the Euphrates. The Jews, however, were reduced to obedience by Caius Sosius, and the kingdom given to Herod by Mark Antony was enlarged by the conqueror Augustus. On the death of Herod, a man of the name of Simon, without waiting for the authority of the emperor, seized the sovereignty. He, however, was punished for his ambition by Quinctilius Varus, the governor of Syria; and the nation, reduced to submission, was divided into three portions between

[1] Quintius Curtius Rufus, whom Niebuhr (*Rom. Hist.*, Bohn, 1855, Vol. iii., 276), regards as, like Petronius Arbiter, contemporary with Severus and Caracalla, mentions (*De Rebus Gest. Alexandri Magn.*, Lib. IV., c. 7, § 23), a statue in a temple of Jupiter Hammon, which was "not the same which the artificers commonly adapted to the gods." And C. Silius Italicus (*Punicorum*, Lib. iii., 30) speaks of a temple sacred to Hercules, which had no image (*nulla effigies simulacrave nota Deorum majestate locum, et sacro implevere timore*).

the sons of Herod. During the reign of Tiberius things were quiet.[1] Afterwards, being ordered by Caligula to place his statue in the temple, the Jews, rather than submit, had recourse to arms; but this commotion was brought to an end by the death of Caligula. The Jewish kings being either dead or reduced to a very limited power, Claudius committed the province of Judaea to Roman knights, or freemen. One of these, Antonius Felix,[2] who exercised the prerogative of a king with the spirit

[1] In his *Annals*, II., 42, Tacitus states that the provinces of Syria and Judaea entreated Tiberius to make an abatement of the tribute which they had to pay; and (c. 43) that at the instance of this emperor, the provinces beyond the sea were decreed to Germanicus, with authority, wherever he went, superior to that which others obtained by lot or by the will of the prince. C. 85, he adds, that measures were taken for sweeping away the religious ceremonies of the Egyptians and the Jews; and a decree of the Senate was passed, that 4,000 descendants of freedmen, who had been contaminated with that superstition, and who were old enough to carry arms, should be despatched to Sardinia, to put down the practice of robbery in that island, and if the bad climate killed them it would be a small loss. The rest were to leave Italy, unless by a certain day they gave up their profane rites.

[2] *Annals*, XII., 54, having related that Pallas received the ornaments of the Praetorship, with public thanks, &c., for his measure forbidding ladies to marry slaves, Tacitus continues: "His brother, surnamed Felix, governor of Judaea, did not act with similar moderation, but relied upon his power to hold him harmless in committing all sorts of crimes. It is true the Jews had given signs of a sort of insurrection in the disturbance which had broken out, for—since they did not attend to the order of Caius (to erect his statue in their temple), although, on their being informed of his assassination, their insurrectionary movements were quieted,—they feared that some future emperor might

of a slave, rioting in cruelty and licentiousness, married Drusilla, the granddaughter of Antony and Cleopatra, that he might be grandson-in-law of Antony, who was grandfather to Claudius."

Ch. 10. "The patience, however, of the Jews held out to the time of Gessius Florus, the procurator. Under him a war broke out. Cestius Gallus, the governor of Syria, with a view to crush the revolt, fought several battles, but most of them were unsuccessful. After his death, which happened either by destiny or through vexation, Vespasian, who was sent by Nero, succeeded to the

enjoin the same thing upon them. Felix also, by inopportune remedies, stirred on the wrong-doings, while he was emulated in his utterly bad ways by Ventidius Cumanus, who held part of the province; the land being so divided that the race of the Galilaeans was ruled by Cumanus, and the Samaritans were under the government of Felix. These nations had long been at variance, and now their mutual hatred was little modified by their contempt of the kings. Accordingly, mutual plunders took place, bands of robbers were sent out, snares were laid, and sometimes battles were fought, and the spoils and booty were carried off to the Procurators. These at first rejoiced, but when the mischief grew, and they interposed their troops, the soldiers were slain, and but for the aid rendered by Quadratus, ruler of Syria, the province would have blazed with war. Nor was there any long hesitation about inflicting capital punishment upon Jews who had carried their violence so far as to kill the soldiers, though Cumanus and Felix occasioned some delay, because Claudius, having heard the causes of the outbreak, had even issued an order for the trial of the Procurators. But Quadratus, taking Felix up on the tribunal, showed him among the judges, to scare away the zeal of the accusers, and Cumanus alone was condemned for crimes which two had committed. Thus peace was restored to the province.

command. His personal renown and good fortune, added to the circumstance that he was served by excellent officers, enabled him in two summer campaigns to overrun the whole country, and to make himself master of all the cities except Jerusalem.[1] The following year, which was devoted to civil war, passed in tranquillity so far as the Jews were concerned. But when peace was restored to Italy, foreign affairs again became the cause of trouble. Increasing indignation was felt because the Jews were the only nation that had not submitted. At the same time it was thought best for Titus to remain with the army, in case of any unforeseen occurrences or casualties that might arise under the new reign.[2] Accordingly he encamped under the walls of Jerusalem, as we have already mentioned,

[1] *Hist.*, II., ch. 4. "Vespasian had nearly finished the Jewish war, and nothing remained but the siege of Jerusalem, a tedious and laborious process; the difficulty arising not so much from the resources which the city contained, as from the steepness of the hill and the obstinate character of the superstition."

[2] *Hist.*, V., ch. 1. "At the beginning of the same year, Titus was appointed by his father to complete the conquest of Judaea. This young general had earned high distinction in the campaign which he and his father had shared together, and at this time his fame had reached such a pitch that the provinces and armies vied with each other as to who should show him the greatest devotion. But, that he might attain still higher glory, he was ever early at his post, dressed in splendid armour, calling for kindly attentions by his own affability, and often mingling with the common soldiers in their works or on the march, though he never sacrificed one whit of his dignity as a commander. He had the charge of three legions in Judaea, the 5th, the 10th, and the 15th, veteran

and displayed his legions in the face of the enemy."

Ch. 11. "The Jews formed in line of battle under the very walls, intending, if successful, to push forward; and if driven back, to secure a safe retreat. The cavalry, with the light-armed cohorts sent against them, fought with doubtful success. The enemy soon gave way, and on the following days engaged in frequent skirmishes before the gates, till, after repeated losses, they were obliged to retire within the walls. The Romans now resolved to carry the place by storm. To wait till the enemy was starved was not worthy of Romans; and while some demanded the post of danger from valorous motives, many others did so from fierceness and in the hope of reward. Titus himself, too, had visions of Rome, with its wealth and pleasures, which he could not realize till Jerusalem should fall. But the city, naturally difficult of approach on

soldiers, who had served under Vespasian; and these were joined by the 12th from Syria, and the 3rd and 22nd from Alexandria. He was also attended by twenty cohorts of the allies, and eight squadrons of horse, by the two kings, Agrippa and Sohemus, and auxiliaries from Antiochus, besides a strong band of men who cherished towards the Jews that hatred which usually subsists between neighbouring tribes—a multitude, every one of whom had been drawn from Rome and Italy by the hope of being the first to win the good graces of the prince. With this force arranged in order of battle, Titus entered the enemy's country, having sent scouts before him to make careful observations; and keeping ready for action, he encamped near Jerusalem."

account of its elevated position, was strengthened by fortifications and earthworks which would have been sufficient to protect even places on a level plain; for two hills, which rose to a prodigious height, were shut in by walls so constructed as to project in some places in sharp angles; in others, to curve inwards, and thus to expose the flanks of the besiegers to the weapons of those who defended the citadel. The extremities of the cliff were rugged and precipitous, and towers were reared where the rock had been made available to a height of sixty feet, and on the lower ground to a hundred and twenty—a work which looks equally stupendous whether the beholder is near or far away. Within the walls other fortifications encircled the royal residence, foremost among which was the Tower of Antonia, so called by Herod in honour of Mark Antony."

Ch. 12. "The temple itself was a kind of citadel, with walls of its own, more massive and built with greater care than the rest; the very porticoes that surrounded it forming a noble defence. It had a perennial fountain, caverns hollowed out underground, and basins and tanks as reservoirs of rain-water. The founders of the city had foreseen that the institutions and customs of a nation which differed so widely from the rest of mankind would lead to frequent wars. Hence every provision was

made against a protracted siege; and their fears as well as their practical experience had taught them many lessons at the time of the successful assault made by Pompey. Besides which, the venality of the Claudian times had enabled them to purchase the right of fortification, and accordingly they had built walls in time of peace with an eye to war; and then their numbers were increased by a great influx of people and by the overthrow of other cities, for the most insurrectionary spirits of all countries had made Jerusalem their refuge, and increased the disorders of the times. There were three generals, and the same number of armies. The outer and most extensive fortification was guarded by Simon, who was also called Bargioras; the middle precinct, by John; and the temple, by Eleazar. John and Simon had the advantage in the number of men; Eleazar in situation. But battles, plots, and incendiary fires occurred among themselves, and a large quantity of grain was destroyed by burning, till John having despatched a band of men, under pretence of offering a sacrifice, to cut off Eleazar and his forces, obtained possession of the temple. Thus the state became divided into two parties, until, on the approach of the Romans, war without produced harmony within."

Ch. 13. "Prodigies had come to pass, which a

race given up to superstition but opposed to religious ceremonies,[1] did not consider it lawful to expiate either by sacrifices or by vows. Embattled hosts were seen mustering in the heavens with burnished armour, and the temple was suddenly lit up with flashes of lightning. All in a moment the temple gates were flung open, and a voice of superhuman power announced that 'the gods were going forth,' while at the time there was a tremendous movement, as of persons taking their departure.

"But few thought that these were signs of impending evil; many believed the ancient books of the priests contained a prophecy that at that very time the Eastern power would triumph,[2] and they who went forth from Judaea would be masters of the world. This prediction had reference to Vespasian and Titus. But the common people, following the common course of human passion, and interpreting this grand destiny as their own, were not converted to sober ways even by adversity. We are told that the number of the besieged, of every age, and of both sexes, amounted to six hundred thousand. Arms were provided for all who were capable of bearing them, and more than could be expected out

[1] Tacitus of course means the religious ceremonies of the Romans. He did not regard the Jewish observances as worthy of this name.

[2] Comp. the extract from Suetonius, p. 164.

of that number had the courage to do so. The women were as determined as the men; and they felt that should they be compelled to leave the home of their fathers, they would have reason to fear life more than death. Against this city and race Titus Caesar resolved to operate with mounds and covered batteries, since the nature of the locality did not admit of sudden assault. The legions had their respective duties assigned them, and fighting was deferred until everything was ready which ancient precedent or modern invention suggested for capturing cities."[1]

[1] J. H. Boecler, a distinguished German critic of the seventeenth century, who wrote in Latin, closes a very calm and careful examination of the works of Tacitus by noting the mistake of the Roman historian in calling the Jews a *gens religionibus adversa* (a people opposed to religious rites); and he adds: "in which, and in the greater part of his digression concerning Jewish affairs, he thought and wrote, as we have already shown, foolish and frivolous things; and thus he deserved the very serious censure of Tertullian and others. Nor can those who are guided by the love of truth do otherwise than place among the blemishes of this writer such absurd fictions and fables full of old wives' nonsense." *In Taciti Primordia Annalium et Historias Commentatio.* Argentorati (Strasburg), 1664, p. 823.

Dean Milman, *op. cit.*, Vol. ii., p. 366, note, quotes a passage from Sulpicius Severus (*Chronicon*, xxx. 11. 6), which he is disposed to attribute, with M. Jacob Bernays (*über die Chronik des Sulpicius Severus*, Berlin, 1861) to Tacitus. This passage contradicts the representation of Josephus with regard to the desire of Titus to spare the temple, and states that in the council of war held on the question whether it ought to be destroyed, Titus joined in the opinion that it should be demolished because its fall would prove an effectual means of extirpating both the Christian and Jewish

PTOLEMAEUS MENDESIUS probably lived under the first Roman Emperors, and he related the Acts of the Egyptian kings. His work is referred to by Apion, but not by Strabo or any earlier writer. Clemens (quoted by Eusebius, *Pracp. Ev.*) gives him as his authority for the statement that Amosis, who lived about the same time as Inachus the Argive overthrew the city Avaris.

POMPONIUS MELA, the first of the Romans to write on geography, flourishing probably under the reign of the Emperor Claudius, says:[1] "Syria occupies the coast and a considerable breadth of the interior, and has received various names from different persons; for it is called Coele, and Mesopotamia, and Damascene, and Adiabene, and Babylonia, and Judaea, and Comagene, and Sophene. It is Palestine where it touches Arabia on one side, and Phoenicia on the other; and where it joins Cilicia it is Antioch; formerly, and for a long time powerful, but most powerful by far when Semiramis held it under his sway. In Palestine there is a vast fortified city called Gaza (the Persian word for treasury), and its name was derived thence because when Cambyses invaded Egypt he stored his war provisions and money in this place. Ascalon is equally

religions, which had sprung from the same sources. "The Christians," Sulpicius says, "originated from the Jews: pull up the root, and the plant will perish."

[1] *De Situ Orbis*, Lib. I., c. xii. Ed. Reinoldii, Eton, 1820.

large. Joppa is said to have been built before the flood, and the inhabitants affirm that Cepheus reigned there, because certain ancient altars retain his mark, and that of his brother Phineus, with very great religious ceremony, and among the things celebrated in verses and fables they show the famous footsteps of Andromeda preserved by Perseus, and the enormous bones of a marine animal."

DION CASSIUS, born about A.D. 155, in the few remains that we possess of his *History of Rome*, extending from the landing of Æneas to A.D. 229, speaking of Palestine when visited by Pompey, says,[1] "It was then under the government of two brothers, Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, who were quarrelling about the office of high priest to their God (whoever he is), for with them this distinction and the regal authority went together. Pompey reduced Hyrcanus immediately without a battle; but Aristobulus entrenched himself in a fortress, and would not give way, so he was forced to accept terms of peace. As, however, he would not pay any money, or deliver up the citadel, Pompey put him in chains, and he conquered the rest without much difficulty. But he found the assault of Jerusalem a troublesome affair.[2] Being received by the partisans of Hyrcanus, he easily obtained the city,

[1] Lib. XXXVI., c. 15. Ed. Leonclavii, Hanov. 1606, p. 36, ff.

[2] Eutropius, *Hist. Rom.*, Lib. V., 14, disposes of Pompey's

but the temple, which was occupied by men of the other party, cost him great labour to take. It was situated on a lofty hill, and fortified by its own walls; and it would not have been captured if its defenders had marked every day alike. But because they ceased from their operations on the day of Chronos (Lat. *Saturn*), when they never do any work, they gave the Romans an opportunity to break down the wall. Thus on Saturn's day, making no resistance, they came into the power of

achievement in a few lines: "Pompey passed on from Antioch, which he presented with its freedom, and having come to Judaea, he took Jerusalem, the capital of the nation (*caput gentis*), in the third month, having slain 12,000 Jews and received the rest into submission." Ch. 15, he mentions "Aristobulus, king of the Jews," amongst the prisoners led before Pompey's triumphal chariot.

Appian, a native of Alexandria, living in Rome during the reigns of Trajan, Hadrian, and Antoninus, but merely a compiler, states in his Roman History (*De Reb. Syriac.*, 50,) that "while Pompey obtained the submission of Cilicia and all Syria, with Coele and Phoenicia and Palestine, and all the other nations of Syria from Euphrates to Egypt, and as far as to the sea, without a battle, he conquered one nation, that refused obedience, by arms, and sent King Aristobulus to Rome; and he levelled the walls of Jerusalem, a very great city, and very sacred with the Jews, as in former days Ptolemy I., king of Egypt, had done, and which also Vespasian again destroyed after its fortifications had been renewed, and, finally, Adrian did the same in our time. On account of which thing the capitation taxes on the Jews are heavier than the usual rate."

The same author says, *De Bell. Mithrid.*, 106, . . . "Then also the Jews, who had revolted from their king, Aristobulus, whose very sacred city Jerusalem he destroyed." And, *Bell. Civil.*, ii. 71, he mentions the "Hebrews" in the list of Eastern races who formed part of Pompey's troops at Pharsalia.

their enemies. All their treasures were then plundered, the kingdom was given to Hyrcanus, and Aristobulus was carried off."

Dion then proceeds to acknowledge his ignorance as to the origin of this people, but observes that, though the Romans diminished their numbers,[1] they

[1] Schudt, *op. cit.*, p. 402, gives the following calculation of Lipsius, from Josephus and Egesippus, of the numbers of Jews taken captive, or killed, in civil and foreign wars, during a little less than seven years immediately preceding and including the destruction of Jerusalem. He incorrectly makes the total 1,339,690.

In Jerusalem, by command of Florus...	630
„ Caesarea, by inhabitants ...	10,000
At Scythopolis	13,000
„ Ascalon	2,500
„ Ptolemais	2,000
„ Alexandria	50,000
„ Damascus	10,000
„ Joppa, at the capture ...	8,400
„ Mount Cabulon	2,000
„ The battle of Ascalon ...	10,000
By plots	8,000
In Aphaca	15,000
„ Mount Gerizim	11,600
„ Jotapa	30,000
„ Joppa, the second capture ...	4,200
„ Tarichaea	6,500
„ Gamala	9,000
„ Giscala, slain	2,000
„ „ taken prisoners ...	2,200
„ The villages of Idumaea ...	10,000
„ Gerasus	1,000
„ Machaerun	1,700
„ Sylva Jardes	3,000
„ The Castle of Massada ...	960
„ Cyrene	3,000
„ Jerusalem, died or were slain ...	1,000,000
„ „ prisoners ...	97,000
Total ...	1,313,690

have greatly increased; that no laws can extirpate them, and that their customs are quite different from those of other nations; for, besides their peculiar way of living, they do not adore any of the ordinary deities. They acknowledge but one God, whom they worship with the utmost attention. There never was any image in Jerusalem, as they believe their God to be ineffable and invisible.[1] Their religious worship surpasses that of all other nations, They have built their God a temple of the the grandest proportions, and the most exquisite beauty, though it was open and without roof; and they have devoted to him the day called Saturn's. While they do many singular things on this day, they abstain from all work. Dion closes his description by remarking that "who this God is, when he thus began to be worshipped, or to what degree they reverence him, it is no part of this history to inquire."

But in Books XXXIX. and XLI., pp. 117, 161, he records the escape of Aristobulus from Rome, through the influence of Caesar, his being sent under arrest to Pompey for making disturbances in Palestine, and the subsequent capture of the country from Antigonus by Ventidius, Antony's general, who imposed a tribute upon the Jews, but excited his master's jealousy by his success.

[1] Ἄῤῥητον καὶ ἀειδῆ.

Book XLVIII., p. 372. Pacorus, who had become governor of the other parts of Syria, marches into Palestine, deposes Hyrcanus, who had been invested with power by the Romans, and puts his own brother, Aristobulus, in his place.

Book XLIX., p. 405. Antony[1] gives the governorship of Syria and Cilicia to Sossius, who lays siege to Jerusalem. In the contest which followed, the Jews made the Romans pay dearly for their triumph, inflicting on their conquerors far greater sufferings than they themselves endured; "for," Dion remarks in parenthesis, "when once the anger of the Jew boils up, it is most bitter;" and then follows a brief but vivid picture of the conquest, first of those who defended the temple, and then of the rest, with the earnest manner in which they all begged that, as it was the day called Saturn's, when the time for their religious services came round, they

[1] Indirectly associated with the history of Antony's doings in relation to the Jews is a very fine ode of Horace addressed to Dellius, the agent by whom Antony sent for Cleopatra to Cilicia, and who advised Alexandra, the widow of Alexander, and daughter of Hyrcanus, to conciliate the favour of Antony by placing before him her beautiful son and daughter. Beginning (Carm. II. 3,) "O Dellius, born to die," Horace paints a most luxurious picture of a life of ease, and he then gives Dellius this warning: "It matters not whether you are rich and descended from ancient Inachus, or poor, and of humblest birth, and without a roof to cover your head,—you are the victim of merciless Orcus. We are all driven in the same direction; the lot of all, sooner or later to come forth, rolls round in the urn, and will place us in Charon's boat for everlasting exile."

might be allowed to perform their ceremonies in due order, and their going up to the temple for that purpose. Antony now gave the kingdom to "a certain Herod," and having stretched Antigonus on a cross and scourged him, a thing never done before to any other king by the Romans, he put him to death.[1]

We then have notices, Book LIII., p. 526, of the tetrarchy of one Zenodorus being given, by Augustus, to Herod; and, LV., p. 567, of "Herod the Palaestinian" being accused by his brothers, and sent back over the Alps.

Book LX., p. 670, Dion says Rome became so crowded with Jews, that it was difficult to expel them without tumult, and even Claudius did not drive them away, though he would not permit those who lived according to their own laws to hold meetings; while "Agrippa Palaestinus" received consular honours for the services he had rendered to the Romans, and his brother Herod is not only made Praetor, but invested with a government, and they are both commanded to appear in the Senate, that they may receive thanks in the Grecian manner.

Book LXVI.[2] "Meantime Titus, having charge

[1] Plutarch also, in his *Life of Antony*, mentions that this was the first king thus put to death by the Roman victor.

[2] *Excerpt*, Xiphil., p. 746.

of the Jewish war, took Jerusalem, and set fire to the temple, the Jews considering that it was not death, but victory, safety, and good fortune, to perish with their temple. Among many who were taken prisoners, was Barporas, their chief, and he alone was led in triumph, and put to death. Accordingly Jerusalem fell on the day of Chronos (Saturn), which the Jews still hold to be specially sacred."

Book LXVI.[1] "Titus being charged with the conduct of the war against the Jews, endeavoured at first to conciliate them by messages and certain promises. But when they could not be won over he resorted to arms. The early battles resulted in equal fortune to both sides, but subsequently Titus gained the upper hand, and laid siege to Jerusalem. The city was defended by a threefold circle of walls, including the fortification of the temple. The Romans therefore constructed earthworks against the walls, moved up their engines, and placing bands of soldiers so as to meet those who rushed out, they stopped them and drove them back with slings and other weapons. For the enemy had a great multitude of men furnished by certain barbarian kings, besides Jews some of whom came from various districts of their own land, and others secretly sent to the assistance of Jerusalem by those who had adopted their laws and rites, not only in this country

[1] *Excerpt*, Theodosii, p. 746.

where the Roman sway prevailed, but in places beyond the Euphrates;[1] all these helped to increase the vehemence with which weapons and stones were showered down from above, either by hand or with the machines. Whenever there was an opportunity, by night or by day, they made sallies from the city, threw fire upon their foes from their whirling engines, by which many were killed, tunnelled down the earth, and carried it within their fortifications, drew away some of the Roman battering-rams by flinging ropes upon them, picked off others with grappling hooks, and turned the strokes of others with thick planks fitted together, covered with iron and let down in front of the wall. While the Romans suffered greatly for want of water, and were glad to get it even in a fetid state or from a long distance, the Jews conducted it from its sources by subterranean channels, and so secured a plentiful supply. And the besieged even used these same passages, which connected the city with places in the country lying very widely apart, to issue out and harass the straggling Romans when they might be in quest of water. Titus stopped up all these subways; but while this was being done large numbers of his men were wounded and many killed. Titus himself was

[1] Dean Milman, *op. cit.*, Vol. ii., p. 323, thinks that Dion probably meant those Jews who had come to the Festival of Passover.

struck on the left shoulder by a stone, and his hand was much weakened in consequence. After a time, however, the Romans mounted the outer wall, placed their camp between the ramparts, and then attacked the second one, though with little success. For when all the besieged were assembled on this one defence, they defended themselves more easily, as if from a narrower circle. Again therefore Titus, speaking through his heralds, offered them pardon, but they were as immovable as before. Whenever any of them were taken prisoners or deserted, they poisoned the water drunk by the Romans, and if they met any of the besiegers alone, they slew them. In consequence of this Titus refused to admit any more of them to his camp.

"Meanwhile some of the Romans, who were disheartened by the threatening appearance of affairs—not an unfrequent occurrence in long sieges—and who began to think there was some truth in the common saying that the city was impregnable, went over to the besieged,[1] who nourished them

[1] In the remainder of this Excerpt, Dion states that the Jews made a most heroic stand against the Romans, though they actually opened the access to their temple by setting fire to the fortification that enclosed it, and when they could no longer resist the Roman hosts who were urged on by Titus, "the people gathered around the vestibule of their sacred shrine, while the rulers occupied the steps, and the priests took up their position in the temple itself. But they were only conquered as the successive portions of the building were taken, and then some

although they themselves were suffering for lack of provisions, that they might show the enemy how even his ranks had not been exempt from desertion."

Book LXVII.[1] "In those times the road from Sinuessa to Puteoli was paved. In the same year Domitian put to death, among many others, Fabius Clemens, consul, though he was a relative of his own, having married his kinswoman, Flavia Domitilla. Fabius and his wife were both accused of impiety, and on the same ground many who went over to the customs of the Jews paid heavy penalties, some of them being put to death, and others deprived of their property."

Book LXVIII.[2] "Meanwhile the Jews living in the neighbourhood of Cyrene under the leadership of a certain man named Andrew, put to death Romans and Greeks alike, ate their flesh, tore out their bowels, smeared themselves with their blood, and

of them threw themselves on the swords of the Romans, others silently killed one another, others again laid violent hands upon themselves, and others jumped into the fire." The Excerpt then concludes almost verbatim as that of Xiphilin from the same Book, except that in this instance Barphores is not called a "chief."

[1] *Excerpt*, Xiphil., p. 766. In this same Book, c. 7, Dion observes, as if to mark the absence of any wish on the part of the Romans to perpetuate the Jewish name, "Although the greatness of this victory induced Vespasian and Titus to take the title of Emperor, neither of them would take the cognomen of *Judaicus*."

[2] *Excerpt*, Xiphil., p. 786.

dressed up in their skins. They sawed many of them in two, from the top of the head downwards, flung many to wild beasts, and forced many to fight with each other, so that no less than two hundred and twenty thousand men perished. A similar destruction of life was carried on, under the generalship of Artemio, in Egypt, and in Cyprus where two hundred and forty thousand fell. In fact no one could venture to land on the island of Cyprus, even though driven thither by stress of weather, without running the risk of being killed. But the Jews were vanquished by some of the Roman commanders, and especially by Lucius, who was commissioned by Trajan."

Book LXIX., p. 792. "Hadrian, after seeing the mysteries in Greece, visited Judaea and Egypt, and atoned to the memory of Pompey, in reference to whom he is said to have remarked, that 'the man in whose honour so many temples were built was scarcely allowed a grave.' He had, after the fall of Jerusalem, named the city Ælia Capitolina, and built a temple to Jupiter, where the temple of God had stood, but this led to a war of vast proportions and long continuance, for the Jews became enraged at the influx of foreign people with foreign religious rites into their city. When Hadrian had made a progress in Egypt and returned to Syria, he thought it was time to quell the insurrection; but

meanwhile the Jews, who had been compelled by the Romans to manufacture arms, took those which were rejected as imperfect, and applied them to their own use; and when they thought Hadrian was a long distance off, they rose in open rebellion. At first they did not dare to expose themselves to the Romans, but seized upon convenient places in their own locality, and fortified them with mines and walls, so that in case of necessity they might afford them a refuge; into these hiding-places they conducted shafts for the admission of air and light. The Romans at first took no notice of these proceedings, but when they found that all Judaea was in commotion, and the whole of the Jews were rising and holding meetings, and that they were doing injury in various ways, both secretly and openly, to the Romans, that many other races were joining them, for the love of gain, and that almost every part of the world was beginning to take part in the movement, Hadrian sent against them all the best generals he had, and among the rest Julius Severus, who had had the government of Britain. Severus did not venture to meet the enemy in open war, as he knew their vast numbers and their desperate feeling, but attacking one here and another there with a large body of soldiers and tribunes, prevented them from moving about, and he so crushed the spirits of those who were thus shut up, though

in comparative safety, that few of them even attempted escape, and he destroyed fifty of their strongest citadels, and nine hundred and eighty-five of their finest and most beautiful villages. Five hundred and eighty thousand men fell in skirmishes and battles, besides a countless multitude who were starved, fell victims to disease, or were burnt to death; so that almost the whole of Judaea became a desert.[1] This calamity had been portended before the war commenced by the fact that the statue of Solomon, which they held in the utmost veneration, had fallen to pieces of its own accord, and that many wolves and hyenas had come howling and shrieking into their cities. A great number of Romans also fell in the war, and consequently when Hadrian wrote to the Senate, he did not make use of the exordium which Roman generals were wont to employ: "IF YOU AND YOUR CHILDREN ARE WELL, ALL IS RIGHT; MY ARMY AND MYSELF ARE WELL."[2]

JUSTIN, Book XXXVI., ch. 3, gives the following particulars: "The wealth of the nation was increased by the taxes on balm,[3] which is produced

[1] Claudius Claudianue, *in Rufinum*, Lib. II., line 33, describes the "delightful country of Syria" as laid waste:

Syriae tractus vastantur amoeni.

[2] Εἰ αὐτοί τε καὶ οἱ παῖδες ὑμῶν ὑγιαίνετε, εὖ ἂν ἔχοι· ἐγὼ καὶ τὰ στρατεύματα ὑγιαίνομεν.

[3] *Opobalsamum.* Justin, contrary to Pliny, *H. N.*, xii. 54, uses

only in this country. For there is a valley shut in by a continuous range of mountains, as if by a wall, in the form of a camp. The space (thus enclosed) is called Hierichus, and extends to two hundred acres.[1] In the valley there is a wood celebrated for its fertility and pleasantness, and marked out into groves of palm and balm-trees.[2] The balm-trees are like pitch-trees in form, except that they do not grow so high, and are dressed in the same way as vines. At a certain season of the year they exude balm. But the place is not less admired for its moderate warmth than for its fertility; for the sun is extremely hot in that country generally. This district is distinguished by a certain natural and perpetual moderate warmth of tepid air.

"In this country also is the lake Asphaltites, called 'The Dead Sea,' on account of its large size and its immobility. For it is not stirred by the winds, its bituminous matter, which gives firmness to all its water, resisting them;[3] and it does not admit of

this term for the tree. Pliny applies it to the juice, and calls the tree *balsamum*. Further on, Justin calls the juice *balsamum*. Vid. also Strabo, Lib. XVI., 1.

[1] Pliny, *loc. cit.*, says twenty. Strabo, Lib. XVI., c. 2, § 4, says "100 stadia in length."

[2] Gronovius, in a note on the term *distinguitur*, says: *Quia dividitur in duas partes, quarum una palmas, altera balsama, continet.*

[3] Justin apparently employs the verb *stagnare*, here, in the same sense in which he uses it in another passage (XXXVII., c. 2, § 6, where he narrates that Mithridates "fortified himself," *se stagnavit*,

navigation, for all inanimate substances sink to the bottom, and it will not bear any wood unless it is smeared with alum.

"Xerxes, king of the Persians, was the first to conquer the Jews.[1] They afterwards fell, with the Persians themselves, under the yoke of Alexander the Great; and they were long subject to Syria when it was ruled by the Macedonian power. On revolting from Demetrius, and seeking the friendship of the Romans, they were the first of all the Eastern peoples to recover their freedom, the Romans being very bountiful with liberties which they had no right to confer.

SUETONIUS states of Tiberius (*Life of Tiberius*, ch. 36) "that he suppressed foreign religious rites, Egyptian as well as Jewish, and compelled those who followed the latter superstition to burn their religious vestments, together with their sacred vessels and implements; and he sent off the Jewish youths, under pretence of military service,[2] to pro-

against tricks by often drinking antidotes. It would seem as though he were playing on the word *'ασφαλιζειν*.

[1] Justin overlooks the conquests of Shalmanezer and Nebuchadnezzar, and makes an entire mistake about Xerxes. The Jews were never conquered by the Persians, but went over to their dominion with the other nations whom the Persians subdued.

[2] *Per speciem sacramenti.* Josephus says four thousand were despatched to Sardinia. Martial alludes to the difference between the wretched climate of Sardinia and the healthy air of Tibur (Tivoli) when he moralizes as to the impossibility of escaping

vinces where the climate was more severe, and turned the rest of that nation with their proselytes out of the city under pain of perpetual slavery if they did not obey his order."

Claudius, too, adopted the same policy. (*Life of Claudius*, ch. 25.) "He expelled from Rome the Jews, who, at the instigation of one Chrestus,[1] were always making disturbances."

With regard to Nero and the Jews, Suetonius only observes (*Life of Nero*, ch. 40,) that "when the world forsook him, some of the astrologers flattered him with the hope of the Eastern Empire, some actually mentioned Jerusalem in so many words, but they all declared he would regain his former fortune."

death. *Epig.* iv. 60, "when death comes in the midst of Tibur, it is Sardinia," meaning that you are not safer in Tibur than in Sardinia if death once overtakes you.

[1] Ludwig Geiger observes, "How this passage could have been applied to Christ, I cannot conceive. To justify such an interpretation it must have been supposed that a body of Jewish Christians existed among the Jews. But there were not enough of them in Rome at this period to have been able to commence such a conflict with the real Jews as would have appeared dangerous to the Romans. Even Adolph Stahr, who feels compelled, in the Introduction to his *Translation of the Writings of Suetonius*, to endorse the above view, admits that the name of Chrestus was at that time in common use. I therefore side with the opinion that the insurrection here noticed was set on foot by an ordinary Jew, and that, although unimportant, it was looked upon by the ruthless Emperor as a favourable opportunity for the exercise of his tyrannical rule."—*Illustrirte Monatschrift für die gesammten Interessen des Judenthums*, Nov. 1865.

But when he comes to narrate the military successes of Vespasian in Palestine (*Life of Vespasian*, ch. 4), he whitewashes the imperial power of any preconceived intention to plant its standards on the ruins of Jerusalem, by telling us that "an old and fixed belief had spread all over the East that the gods intended Judaea at that period to gain the sway. This prophecy, which had reference to the Roman Emperor, as the event afterwards proved, the Jews applied to themselves, and rose in rebellion,[1] and having slain their governor, took a Roman eagle, and put to flight the Legate, a man of consular rank, who was bringing supplies." Suetonius then says it was to put down this insurrection that Vespasian was sent.

Ch. 5. He represents Vespasian as consulting an oracle at Carmel. "When he consulted the oracle of the god Carmel, in Judaea, the responses were so

[1] B. G. Niebuhr observes, Vol. iii., *op. cit.*, p. 199, "The rebellion of the Jews had, even as early as the reign of Claudius, been stirred up by ill-usage and usurpation," and this is borne out by the words of Tacitus: "Claudius committed the province of Judaea to Romish knights, or freemen. One of these, Antonius Felix, exercised the prerogative of a king with the spirit of a slave, rioting in cruelty and licentiousness. The patience, however, of the Jews held out to the time of Cassius Florus, the procurator. Under him a war broke out. Cestius Gallus, the governor of Syria, with a view to crush the revolt, fought several battles, but most of them were unsuccessful. After his death, which happened either by destiny or vexation, Vespasian, who was sent by Nero, succeeded to the command." See p. 140.

favourable that they promised him entire success in whatever he was meditating and planning, however great it might be; and one of the noble captives, Josephus, when thrown into chains, asserted most positively that he should soon be liberated, but that Vespasian would be Emperor first."

In the *Life of Domitian*, ch. 12, Suetonius observes that, "besides the exactions from others, the poll-tax on the Jews was levied most rigorously (*acerbissime*), both on those who lived after the manner of the Jews in the city, and on those who, by concealing their origin, sought to avoid paying the tribute imposed upon that people;" and he says he remembers when a youth witnessing a shameful indignity upon an old man of ninety years, in the presence of the procurator and a very full council, to ascertain whether he was a Jew.[1]

If Titus had been permitted to indulge the passion for Berenice, Agrippa's sister, which Suetonius says (*Life of Titus*, ch. 7,) was awakened in the young conqueror when she appeared at his court, the Jews might have hoped for halcyon days. But public jealousy lest a Jewess should share the imperial honours obliged him to dismiss her from Rome;

[1] Dean Milman, *op. cit.*, Vol. ii., p. 416, Note, observes that Eckhel agrees with Spanheim that the epigraph on Nerva's coin, *Fisci Judaici calumnia sublata*, indicated the abolition, not of the tax, but of the delations and the insulting usage of ascertaining the liability to it.

and though she returned, it was not to enjoy the favour formerly bestowed upon her.

Life of Titus, ch. 5. Suetonius describes the popularity of the young general who succeeded his father in the command. ". . . Being left to complete the reduction of Judaea, in the final assault of Jerusalem he slew twelve of its defenders with as many arrows. He took it on his daughter's birthday, and so great was the joy and attachment of the soldiers that, in their congratulations, they saluted him as Emperor, and as he was leaving the province soon after, they detained him, beseeching him, not without threats, to remain, or else to take them all with him. This gave rise to the suspicion that he had contemplated revolting from his father, and claiming the kingdom of the East for himself; and this suspicion increased when, on his way to Alexandria, he wore a diadem at the consecration of the ox Apis at Memphis, though he did it only in compliance with the usage and rite of their ancient religion; but persons were not wanting to put a bad construction upon it. Wherefore, hastening to Italy, and having first reached Rhegium, then Puteoli, in a merchant ship, he proceeded to Rome with all possible expedition, and, presenting himself unexpectedly to his father, as if to prove the folly of the reports that had been circulated, he said, "I am come, father; I am come!"

ANNAEUS FLORUS is supposed to have flourished at the end of the reign of Trajan. He wrote an *Epitome of Roman Affairs*, from the foundation of the city, to the establishment of the Empire under Augustus, which obtained considerable popularity in the middle ages as a school book; but, although on the whole fairly accurate as to facts, it is marked by enough of error as well as highly metaphorical expressions and far-fetched ideas, to render it quite consistent that he should draw upon his imagination when referring to the Jews. In speaking of Pompey's conquests, Bk. III., ch. v., § 30, he observes: "The Jews tried to defend Jerusalem, but he entered this city also, and there he saw[1] that grand secret of the irreligious race exposed under, as it were, a golden sky, and being called upon to judge between the brothers who were quarrelling for the kingdom, he ordered Hyrcanus to take it, and when Aristobulus renewed the strife he put him in chains."

[1] *Et vidit illud grande inpiae gentis arcanum patens sub aureo uti coelo.* Strabo and Josephus speak of this curiosity as having been presented to Pompey by Aristobulus, son of Alexander, before he came to Jerusalem, when, as Josephus states, emissaries were sent to him from all parts of Syria, Egypt, and Judaea. Strabo describes it as a golden ornament, representing a garden with vines, and valued at 500 talents. *Uti* is supposed by some to be a corruption from *vitem*. Graevius suggested *sub aureo uti velo*, taking the expression as possibly referring to the veil which covered the Holy of Holies. The golden garden or vine was

In surveying the fragments of Jewish History thus collated, an impartial reader can hardly fail to notice the unanimity with which heathen writers of ancient times describe the religious isolation of that people, their invincible attachment to the simple ceremonies of their heaven-appointed ritual, and the unity and spirituality of the Being whom they adored.

The worst crimes charged against them with any truth are poverty, which is no disgrace, and bitter anger, for which they had bitter cause. Doubtless, many of them were no better than the rest of mankind, but their general standard of morality put to shame both the cultured Greeks and the mighty Romans; while their history, written even by hostile pens, forms a powerful argument for the truth of those monotheistic principles which they so fearlessly upheld.

afterwards dedicated to the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, in Rome, with the inscription of Alexander Magnus, king of the Jews. Florus may have mistaken the ark described by Josephus for this. Athenaeus says that in the bedroom of King Darius there was a very costly golden vine, adorned with gems, and bunches hanging from precious stones. *Deipnos*, Lib. xii., c. 9, ed. John Schweighauser, Argentorati (Strasburg), 1804, Tom. iv., p. 412; and Rufus Quintus Curtius, *Hist. of Alexander the Great*, Lond., 1821, Lib. viii., c. 9, in describing the surroundments of an Indian king, speaks of "the gilded columns in his palace, with vines, engraven with gold twisted about them." Dean Milman, *op. cit.*, p. 44, Note, suggests the question whether the vine presented to Pompey was of Greek workmanship.

Even Minucius Felix, while condemning the Jews of his day, and suggesting that God may have given them up to punishment, says (*Octav.*, c. xxii.) it would be a great mistake to suppose that the Jews of that age were a type of their fathers, "who for long ages worshipped the one God honestly, harmlessly, and religiously, observed healthful laws, increased from a small number to an innumerable multitude, rose from poverty to wealth, from slavery became kings, a little band without arms chased armed hosts before them by the command of God, and even vanquished the opposing elements."

APPENDIX.

I.

THE CONTROVERSY BETWEEN APION AND JOSEPHUS.

APION, among other things, states,—1. That Moses led the blind and lame Jews out of Egypt in the seventh year of the First Olympiad, the year in which, according to him, Carthage was built. 2. That the name *Sabbath* arose from the circumstance that the Jews were obliged to rest after pursuing their journey for six days, because they were afflicted with a painful and disabling complaint, which the Egyptians called *Sabbatosis*. 3. That the Jews reached Judaea from Sinai in six days, having remained in the desert forty days, while Moses was on the Mount. 4. That "they came out of Syria and inhabited near the tempestuous sea, and were in the neighbourhood of the dashing of the waves." 5. He blames them for their war against Ptolemy Physco, on this ground, as well as because they do not worship the Egyptian gods, or erect statues to the Roman emperors, and objects to their being called citizens of Alexandria. 6. He accuses them of putting up an ass's head in their holy place; of annually catching a Greek, and fattening him up for sacrifice, tasting his entrails, and swearing eternal enmity to the Greeks; of being so

frightened, in the course of a war with the Idumaeans, by a cunning fellow from Dora, who promised to deliver Apollo, the god of Dora, into their hands if they would go with him to their temple, and dressed himself up in a framework, with three rows of lamps suspended from it, that they allowed him to go into the sacred edifice, and take away the golden ass's head; of swearing by God, the Maker of heaven, earth, and sea, to bear no goodwill to any foreigner, especially to Egyptians; of having no just laws of their own, and not worshipping God as they ought, but being in subjection sometimes to one nation and sometimes to another; their city undergoing several calamities, while Alexandria in past ages retained its independence; of having produced "no wonderful men, not any inventors of arts, or any eminent for wisdom." He also reproaches them for sacrificing animals, and abstaining from swine's flesh, and ridicules their rite of circumcision.

Josephus replies: 1. Apion is quite out in his chronology, for Carthage was not built till one hundred and fifty years after the days of Solomon, who lived six hundred and twelve years after the exodus. 2. If the Jews had suffered as Apion says they did, they could not have journeyed for six days, or even for a single day. The derivation of the Hebrew word *Sabbath*, from the Egyptian *Sabbo*, is absurd, for *Sabbath*, in Hebrew, means *rest;* while, according to Apion himself, *Sabbo* has a very different signification. 3. How could they tarry forty days in a desert place, where there was no water, and at the same time pass over all the country between that and Judaea in six days? (Here, however, Josephus seems to create a difficulty where it does not exist, and he overlooks the Scripture statements Exod. xxiv. 18; xxxii. 1—6.) 4. Their living near the sea is no reproach, for it is usually the best part to dwell in; and if they had won

it by arms, so much the more credit was due to their valour; the fact, however, being that Alexander gave it them, when they gained equal privileges with the Macedonians. What would Apion have said if they had taken up their abode in the Necropolis, instead of hard by the palace? Apion must be either wicked or ignorant to overlook the records which describe the privileges given to the Jews by Alexander and his successor, as also by Julius Caesar. 5. Their taking the name of Alexandrians is only in accordance with the general practice of colonists; and if the principle is wrong, Apion ought to abstain from calling himself an Alexandrian, because he was born in the heart of Egypt. This would be consistent with the Roman law, which forbids Egyptians to enjoy the privileges of any Roman city. Ptolemy, in conferring citizenship upon the Jews, acted in the same way as Alexander, who, as Hecataeus says, "honoured our nation to such a degree that, for the equity and the fidelity which the Jews exhibited to him, he permitted them to hold the country of Samaria free from tribute." The immunities and distinctions accorded to the Jews, and the honour done them by the translation of their sacred books in Alexandria, were the hard-earned results of their good conduct and ability. Onias led his army against Physco because, on the death of his brother Philometor, he came from Cyrene to eject Cleopatra from the throne; and the interposition of the Jews, by bringing about terms of agreement, freed the Alexandrians from the miseries of civil war. For this they surely deserved gratitude instead of calumniation; and indeed the divine approval of thecourse they took was marked by their marvellous deliverance from Physco's elephants, as well as by the ghost which the invader saw, forbidding him to injure the Jews, and by the intercession of his own concubine, who entreated him not to perpetrate

such wickedness. If Apion had turned his ire against the dissolute Cleopatra, he would have written more to the purpose. If the Egyptians differ from one another, and even fight about their religion, need they be surprised to find others differing from them, and maintaining their own opinions? The authors of sedition were not the Jews, but the Egyptians. The city had been peaceful enough, and the Jews unmolested under the Greeks and Macedonians; but as the number of the Egyptians increased, "the times grew confused." Instead of abusing the Jews for not raising statues to the emperors, Apion ought to have commended the magnanimity and modesty of the Romans for not requiring them to pay a kind of homage which is forbidden in their law. 6. Had the Jews set up an ass's head, it would have been no more contemptible than some of the creatures, such as the goat, which the Egyptians deify. But the statement is simply a lie, which Apion would not have told unless he had either an ass's heart or a dog's impudence. When the Romans took possession of the temple, nothing of the sort was discovered; through all their misfortunes the Jews have adhered to the laws which prohibit such idolatry. How could all the Jews be collected together for such a sacrifice as Apion describes? how could so many thousands taste the entrails of one man? and why did not King Antiochus, who is said by Apion to have discovered a man under the fattening process, carry him back to his own country, and thus win the love of the Jews, in place of the hatred they bore him? The known Jewish laws for the preservation of perfect purity in religious worship (witness the exact regulations with this object in reference to all the temple rites) show that the whole story about this human sacrifice is a fabrication of which any one pretending to write history ought to be ashamed. There is no such city as

Dora in Idumea, and therefore Apion's hero who frightened the Jews must be a myth. If the Jews are to be reproached for not having gods like those of other nations, how were they so easily persuaded to receive Apollo? and how was it that this mysterious person from Dora in time of war met no one on his way, and found the gates of Jerusalem unguarded? He must have been a strong man to open the lofty, massive doors of the temple, which required twenty men to move them; and if he took away the ass's head, did he return it again, or did Apion put it back for Antiochus to find it? The Jews are remote from the Greeks, and have no enmity against them. Such an oath was never heard of till Apion composed it. An Egyptian should be the last man to find fault with the Jews for their subjection to other peoples. In all past ages they have never had one day of freedom, even from their own lords; and have not the noblest nations, such as the Athenians and Lacedaemonians, suffered great reverses? What of the temples of Ephesus, Delphi, and ten thousand others which have been burnt down? As to the lack of wonderful men, Josephus says the answer may be found in the *Antiquities*, and that the most astonishing thing Apion has done is to mention himself among the eminent citizens of Alexandria. Animal sacrifices are not peculiar to the Jews, and the custom of slaying animals is much better than the Egyptian superstition which turns them into gods. The Jews practise circumcision as a duty in obedience to their laws, but Apion was obliged to submit to it in consequence of a loathsome disease, though the operation left him none the better, and he died in torment.

II.

THE SUPPLEMENT TO LIVY BY FREINSHEMIUS.

FREINSHEMIUS, a scholar of the early part of the seventeenth century, introduces into his continuation of Livy's *Roman History*, Lib. LVII., 38, the following particulars, which he gathered partly from Tacitus and partly from Strabo. It will be seen how closely he has followed the former: "Antiochus, elated with success, although he had received assistance from the Jews, sent his general Cindeboeus to invade them, but with varying fortune so long as the chief of the nation lived. But after he was put to death by the craft of his son-in-law (he was called Ptolemaeus, and was son of Abubus), Antiochus saw that there was a hope of subduing this most obstinate race, and he came into Judaea with a vast army." The narrative then goes on to say that Joannes ordered the useless multitude to be driven out of the city, and that Antiochus neither received them nor put them to death, but left them to die of starvation while with their faces turned towards Jerusalem and entreating help from their compatriots. The feast of tabernacles, however, which is observed by the Jews every year with scrupulous attention to all its details (*accurata religione*), coming on, the hearts of their co-religionists were touched; and they addressed the following words to Antiochus: "The God whom we worship, King Antiochus, when He gave laws to our ancestors,—the

laws which we use to this day,—set apart three festive periods in every year; one of which, called by us the feast of tabernacles, is close at hand; and we do the best we can, in whatever circumstances God has vouchsafed to us, to keep it with becoming solemnity. But that all things may be done regularly and in order, we need about seven days of quiet and rest." They then tell him that no harm would accrue to his cause, for he is endeavouring to starve them out, and if they duly observe the feast in question they will consume all the more provisions through the joyfulness of this feast. After this they remind him that their lawgiver was more ancient than all the gods of the Greeks, as the most learned men have shown, and hence the respect which has been paid to their rites by the kings of other nations. Cyrus, they state, the founder of the Persian empire, when their city had been burned by the Assyrians, ordered the temple to be set up, and he returned the sacred vessels, which had formerly been carried off, with many other most beautiful gifts. After that, through the good offices of Darius, who succeeded Cambyses in the throne, the building of the temple was completed, and Alexander the Great, and the kings of Egypt, and every man of distinguished excellence, paid it the more hearty and serious reverence.

"In this same temple," they add, "are seen the gifts which have been presented at different times by your own kindred, the two Demetrii, your father and your brother. But your grandsire, Antiochus the Great, showed his respect for the temple by the unparalleled honours and privileges which he conferred upon it, and which our own rulers could scarcely have been expected to surpass. What now shall we say of thee? For neither this army encamped around our walls, nor the fear inspired by the blows of so many thousands of engines brought up against

us, will destroy the memory of that time when we readily gave our assistance against a common foe, and were called friends and allies. But if you bear in mind the ancient treaty between us, or your spirit is touched with any religious feeling, grant us a respite which, while it will be no injury to yourself, will be most acceptable to us because of our religious obligations, and if for no other reason, at least for the honour of that God whom we permit to be worshipped in our temple, by every one who chooses to do so, as the Founder of all things, because He is the King and Father alike of all nations." Antiochus, admiring their zeal, not only granted their request, but gave them oxen with gilded horns for sacrifice ; himself carried to the gates of their city gold and silver cups with all sorts of perfumes ; and more than this, he gave his own soldiers a feast in honour of the Jerusalem God.

"The Jews were greatly subdued by his kindness, more than they could have been by any arms. They gave him the name of Pius, and promised to be faithful to him if permitted to live by their own laws. They thus made peace, but they asked a garrison to prevent their rites from being polluted by their coming in contact with other peoples.

"Their country is bounded on the east by Arabia, on the south by Egypt, and on the west are Phoenicia and the sea. Their territories run far north towards Syria. The natives are robust and hardy. Rain is seldom seen ; the soil is rich, and its productions similar to those of our own ; and besides these it grows palms and the balm-tree. The palms are lofty and beautiful. The balm-tree is of moderate size; and as the branches successively swell, if you apply the force of iron the veins shrink, but they may be made to discharge by a fragment of a stone or by a shell ; the fluid is used as a medicine. The principal mountain which this country rears aloft is Libanus, which, wonderful

to say, in a climate intensely hot, is kept cool by its shady groves, and affords a secure retreat from snows. From this mountain the river Jordan springs, and receives its supply of waters. The stream does not discharge itself into the sea; it runs into two different lakes without mixing with them, and is absorbed into a third. The last of these lakes is of immense circuit, resembling a sea, but more nauseous in taste, and by the offensiveness of its odour pestiferous to the neighbourhood. The wind does not stir its surface, nor can fish or water-fowl endure it. The equivocal waters sustain things thrown upon them, as if they rested upon a solid material; those who are able to swim and those who are not are equally upborne. At a stated season of the year the lake throws up bitumen; and experience, the mother of all the arts, has taught the way to gather it. It is a liquid substance, naturally of a black hue, and if vinegar is sprinkled upon it, it floats on the surface in a condensed mass, which those whose business it is lay hold of with the hand and draw it to the deck of the vessel; and then it continues to flow in of itself, and loads the vessel till you cut it off. Nor could you cut it off with brass or iron. It shrinks from the touch of blood."[1]

"Such is the account given by ancient authors: but persons acquainted with the country record that waving masses of bitumen are driven along and drawn ashore by the hand; and, when dried by the vapour from the land, or the heat of the sun, they are cut asunder, like wood or stone, by wedges, or the stroke of the hatchet."

Ch. 40. "When Judaea openly became subject to a tyrannical government, the first person who exchanged the title of priest for that of king was Alexander.[2] His

[1] *Fugit cruorem vestemque, infectam sanguine quo feminae per menses exsolvunter.*

[2] According to Josephus, it was Aristobulus, the successor of

sons were Hyrcanus and Aristobulus.[1] While they were disputing the succession to the kingdom, Pompey came upon them, put an end to their power, and destroyed their fortresses, first taking Jerusalem itself by storm.[2] It was a stronghold situated on a rock, well fortified and well supplied with water within, but outside completely parched with drought. A ditch was cut in the rock, 60 feet deep and 250 feet wide. On the temple wall were built towers constructed of the materials procured when the ditch was excavated. It is said that the city was taken by waiting for the fast-day on which the Jews were accustomed to abstain from all work. Pompey, availing himself of this, filled up the ditch, and threw bridges over it. He gave orders to raze all the walls to the ground, and he destroyed, as far as he could, the haunts of the robbers and the treasure-holds of the tyrants. Two of these strong places, Threx and Taurus, were situated in the passes leading to Jericho. Others were Alexandrium, Hyrcanium, Machaerus, Lysias, and those about Philadelphia, and Scythopolis, near Galilee."

Johannes Hyrcanus, who first took the title of King, B.C. 107; and Aristobulus was succeeded by Alexander Jannaeus.

[1] These are Hyrcanus II. and Aristobulus II.

[2] B.C. 63.

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